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VOLUME 3



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is thought by many to have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the court, and that the charge of high treason was not legally proved against him; much less against Algernon Sidney, Esq; who also lost his life on a scaffold, on account of the same plot.

CHAP.
XV.
1683.

The discovery of this plot, whatever it was, and the executions consequent thereon, gave new occasion of exultation to the court party, and strengthened the hands of the government and persecuting magistrates, both by weakening the opposite party, and by furnishing a plausible pretext for rigorous measures under the mask of vigilance for the public security, and guarding against plots. Through the rancour of party-prejudices the dissenters in general were, by the reigning party, represented as rebels and plotters, and renewed occasion taken from thence to proceed against them with fresh vigour; and the Quakers amongst the rest suffering under the weight of additional oppression, and thinking themselves called upon to take away the occasion sought against them, by exculpating their society from any concern in plotting or acting against government, presented the following address:

To the KING.

“ The humble address of the People commonly
“ called Quakers :

“ Oh King,

“ The King of kings and Lord of the whole
“ earth incline thy heart to do that which is
“ just and merciful in his sight, and to make
“ such clear and equal distinctions, as that the
“ innocent

CHAP. " innocent may not suffer in any case for the
 xv. " guilty, that it may ever redound to thy honour
 " and safety, and thy peaceable subjects com-
 1683. " fort.

" Our innocency, love and good-will to thy
 " person and the government, that God has
 " committed to thee, encourage us in this our
 " humble address and application.

" Whereas the late plot against the king, and
 " his brother the Duke of York, &c. is made
 " an occasion to persecute many of us for our
 " religious meetings more severely than for-
 " merly;

" We do solemnly declare, that it is known
 " to the Divine Majesty, and the all-seeing wis-
 " dom whereby kings reign and princes decree
 " justice, that our manifold, extreme and con-
 " tinued sufferings, being only on a religious
 " account, have not been the least motive or
 " provocation to us to desire, much less to con-
 " trive, the least hurt either to thy person or
 " government, or to the person of thy brother
 " the Duke of York, &c. We are clear in the
 " sight of God, angels and men, from all hel-
 " lish plots and traiterous conspiracies, and
 " from all murderous designs and undertakings
 " against the king, his brother, or any person
 " on earth whatsoever, being works of the
 " devil and darkness; having contrariwise
 " learned of Christ Jesus our Lord, by his light
 " and grace in our hearts, not so much as by
 " force to defend, much less avenge ourselves
 " for injuries done us, but to commit our
 " cause to him that judgeth righteously, as
 " peaceable followers of our Saviour and Re-
 " deemer,

“ deemer, in his patient example and sufferings, CHAP.
 “ who is the prince of peace. XV.

“ O king, we do further declare, that God
 “ Almighty hath taught and engaged us to ac- 1683.
 “ knowledge and actually to obey magistracy
 “ (as his ordinance) in all things not repug-
 “ nant to his law and light in our consciences,
 “ which is certainly agreeable to the holy scrip-
 “ tures, and admits not of any immoral or in-
 “ jurious action. And that even, where through
 “ tenderness of conscience we cannot conform,
 “ it is our duty patiently to suffer, and not to
 “ rebel nor seek revenge. And we hope, by
 “ his divine grace, ever to demean ourselves as
 “ peaceable-minded Christians, in our conversa-
 “ tions under the civil government. And as
 “ we do sincerely and with reverence confess the
 “ divine power and providence in thy restora-
 “ tion, and the preservation of thy person hi-
 “ therto, so our prayers and supplications are
 “ to the Almighty for thy future safety and
 “ peace; and that in a thankful remembrance
 “ of God’s great mercies towards thee, thou
 “ mayest be thereby obliged to shew mercy, and
 “ to relieve the oppressed from those unmerited
 “ afflictions and persecutions, which a great
 “ number of us, thy peaceable subjects, do
 “ even at this day suffer under, in our persons
 “ and estates, not only by laws made against,
 “ but also by laws never intended against us;
 “ and which is more extreme, divers severities
 “ of late have been, and still are inflicted, for
 “ which no colour or pretence of law have
 “ been or can be alleged, several jails being
 “ so filled as that they want air, and many
 “ innocent persons are held under extreme
 “ distress,

CHAP. " distrefs, without regard to age, fex or con-
 xv. " dition, to the lofs of fome lives already, and
 1683. " apparent hazard of many more, if not to the
 " endangering infection in divers cities and
 " places in this nation; and many houfes,
 " fhops, barns and fields are ranfacked, and
 " fwept of goods, corn and cattle, tending alfo
 " to the great difcouragement of trade and
 " hufbandry, and to the impoverifhing of a
 " great number of quiet and induftrious peo-
 " ple, and for no other caufe but for their reli-
 " gious worship, and the exercife of their tender
 " confciences towards Almighty God that made
 " them, who is the fovereign Lord of all, and
 " king in men's confciences.

" Therefore we humbly intreat thee, O king,
 " in princely juftice, christian charity and com-
 " paffion, to open our prifon doors, and take
 " off our bonds, relieve the innocent and op-
 " preffed in thy land that fear God, and (in con-
 " verfation) truly honour the king; and fuffer
 " not the ruin of fuch as are quiet in the land,
 " nor of the widow and the fatherlefs, for their
 " peaceable confciences, to lie at the door of a
 " prince profefling the tender and compaffionate
 " religion of Chrift."

Although the king (who did not naturally de-
 light in cruelty) feemed affected with this exhi-
 bition of unreafonable and unmerited fufferings,
 and after George Whitehead, A. Parker, G.
 Latey and F. Camfield, who prefented it, were
 withdrawn, expreffed himfelf (as they were in-
 formed) to one of his courtiers ftanding by:
 " What fhall we do for this people? the prifons
 " are full of them:" The party to whom he ad-
 dressed

dressed this query, to divert his attention there-
 from, drew him into conversation upon some
 other topic, so that little or no relaxation of
 the oppressive measures resulted from this address,
 nor during the remainder of this monarch's
 reign.

CHAP.
 XV.
 1683.

While the people called Quakers were thus
 harassed by persecution from others, there had
 arisen a dissent among themselves, which was
 now of some years standing. It took its rise
 from a difference of sentiment in relation to
 church discipline, a matter not easily settled, so
 as to guard against the subjecting of conscience
 to an undue ecclesiastical authority on one hand,
 or an unlimited liberty introducing anarchy
 and confusion on the other. And although the
 discipline established among this people appears
 calculated to avoid each extreme, as it relates
 to moral conduct more than to nice speculative
 points of religion; yet almost from its first estab-
 lishment, jealousies were entertained thereof,
 and the establishment opposed by several of the
 members from different motives: By some from
 disgust, because they could not obtain that pre-
 eminence among their brethren which they
 wished for, without merit to procure it, nor ob-
 tain such weight of influence over their meet-
 ings, as to carry things always as they desired;
 by others from a wish to take a greater latitude
 of conduct than the self-denying principles of
 the society allowed; to refrain the attendance of
 religious meetings for fear of human penalties,
 and pay tithes and such-like demands to evade
 suffering. These were averse to a discipline
 circumscribing their conduct within limits they
 were inclined to transgress, and for which they
 did

Rise of the
 separation
 of John
 Willinkson,
 John Story,
 &c.

Causes
 thereof.

CHAP. did not wish to come under censure or control.

XV. Others mistook a regulation solely designed to guard the practice of the members from enormity, and in a regularity of life and manners, consistent with the purity of their profession, for an attempt to force upon conscience an uniformity of worship, and speculative notions, and to subject them to ecclesiastical power. These apprehensions secretly spreading in the hearts, and private conversations of the dissatisfied, at length broke out in a public opposition to the body of the society, and chiefly to the most distinguished members thereof.

The leaders of this opposition were two north-countrymen, John Wilkinson and John Story; who having appeared as ministers, and not keeping in the humility becoming their stations, but thinking of themselves more highly than they ought to think, began to consider themselves as elders worthy of pre-eminence, and to look for greater deference, than the most sensible part of their brethren thought it right to pay them; who rather warned them of the danger they appeared to be in, of losing themselves, by indulging an aspiring mind. Such admonitions were very ungrateful and mortifying to their pride, and perceiving thereby that they were not in the honourable estimation with their friends of sound judgment, which they affected, they let in a disgust and grudging against them; and to strengthen themselves, endeavoured to gain adherents from amongst the looser and weaker members of the society, by soothing doctrines to the favourers of libertinism, vilifying the religious care of friends to preserve them in an orderly and christian conversation and practice, as

They endeavour to form a party,

an imposition on their gospel liberty; and by CHAP.
wily insinuations to the more simple and honest, xv.
and if the body of friends were apostatized from
their original principles, and instead of referring
them for direction to the light in themselves, 1675.
were now drawing them off therefrom to the
doctrines of men. By such means drawing a
party into their own sentiments and views, they
caused a rent and division in the quarterly meet-
ing of Westmoreland, to which they belonged. and cause
The judicious members of this meeting with a division
pain observing the dangerous tendency of these in the
proceedings, to destroy the peace of society, quarterly
and to introduce contention into their meetings, meeting of
established for edification; to prevent the hurt Westmore-
and wounding the peace of mind naturally land.
resulting from unedifying disputes, used christian
endeavours to reclaim them, by calm reasoning
to convince them of the prejudicial consequences
of their litigious proceedings to themselves and
to the society, by earnest entreaties to return to
a state of greater humility and nearer unity
with the body of which they professed them-
selves members: but all their endeavours were
frustrated, by means of the unreasonable pre-
judice which they had imbibed against the most
considerable members of their own meetings,
and of the society at large; looking upon it, it is
like, in the prevailing vanity of their minds, as
a more splendid situation, to be leaders of a
party in the wrong, than to lose their distinc-
tion by ranking again with a society, amongst
whom the superior qualifications of many mem-
bers in capacity and virtue might involve them
amongst the common mass, and with whom
their credit, they imagined, was impaired; so
that

CHAP. that they treated all the well-meant endeavours
 XV. of their best friends, for their own and the ge-
 1675. neral good, with contempt, and persisted in
 Friends of their opposition with a spirit which threatened
 Westmore- an open breach; to prevent which, if possible,
 land endea- the quarterly meeting of Westmoreland thought
 vour to have it expedient to refer the case to the judgment
 the matter of unprejudiced friends of the neighbouring coun-
 referred to ties, who had had no concern in the differences
 indifferent amongst them, and accordingly at their re-
 friends of quest six of the most eminent and judicious
 the neigh- friends of Cumberland, (amongst whom was
 bouring John Burnyeat, from whose narrative this ex-
 counties, tract is made) and several of Yorkshire, went
 over to a meeting appointed by the said quar-
 terly meeting, on purpose to hear and determine
 the matter of difference; but their opponents
 would not appear, though duly apprized of time
 and place, but by letter refused to come, and
 disowned the meeting.

These friends of the adjacent counties being
 unwilling to come to a judgment without hear-
 ing both parties concerned face to face, desired
 another meeting: to which friends of West-
 moreland readily assenting, it was appointed at
 Milthrop next day, and the said mediators
 themselves went as messengers to Wilkinson,
 Story and others, to desire their attendance at
 the meeting; but they were so elevated in their
 minds, and so confined in their own opinion,
 that they treated them, their message and cor-
 dial advice, with slight and contempt; and by
 their reflections and conduct manifested their
 spirits to be wrong, and that they were not by
 any means to be reconciled to their friends, or
 to be prevailed upon to come to a candid and
 sober

sober discussion of the subjects of their discontent, or to meet the complainants face to face. C H A P. XV.
 The friends called in as mediators having heard them in such manner as they could, proceeded 1675.
 to give a second hearing to those of the meeting aggrieved, which having done, they withdrew to consider the whole matter among themselves; and having taken down the heads in writing, after a solid conference thereupon, they came unanimously to the judgment, That seeing these men had set themselves against every approach to a reconciliation, and slighted the tenderest advice, entreaties and persuasions that could be extended to them, they had dissolved the bonds of unity with the society, by a public opposition to the good order established therein; and appearing determined to continue in their opposition, and they having cleared themselves by tender admonition to them, that they were now authorized to testify against them and their spirit; and accordingly drew up a testimony, and left it with friends of the quarterly meeting of Westmoreland. These meetings were held the latter end of the year 1675.

who give judgment against the authors of the separation.

This judgment increasing the discontent and clamour of this restless party, who seem to have had a life in contention and railing; the society, out of condescension, to make another trial if they could at all be won upon, appointed a meeting at Drawell, near Sedbergh in Yorkshire, on the border of Westmoreland, to give them a fair opportunity of being heard upon the subjects of their discontent. The friends who had before drawn up the testimony against them attended, with many other ancient friends from 1676.

Meeting at Drawell.

CHAP. from other parts, and gave these dissatisfied persons a full hearing. They spent four days successively in a patient and full enquiry into the disagreeable subject of this difference, and plainly perceiving that it proceeded from a spirit of contention and opposition to the introduction of regularity and good order into the society, they besought them, with an affectionate tenderness, to return to that love and pacific disposition which cements the community in union and mutual benevolence; but still, all endeavours proving ineffectual to reclaim them, and they obstinately persisting in their opposition, this meeting also, enlarged by the attendance of elders and unprejudiced members from several parts, confirmed the judgment of the former, which disturbed the opponents so far, that they soon after detached themselves entirely from the society, and set up a separate meeting.

XV.

1676.

After a full hearing confirm the judgment.

The yearly meeting takes the matter into consideration.

The yearly meeting soon after coming on, this division in Westmoreland, with other important matters, engaged the attention and consideration thereof. In result the said meeting wrote two epistles, one of caution and advice to Wilkinson and Story, as leaders of the opposition, to dissolve their separate meeting, and to be reconciled to their brethren, before they went abroad to offer their gift; the other epistle was directed to their meeting, advising them to withdraw therefrom, and return to their former fellowship with the society. Yet still the well-meant advice of their friends had no prevalent effect with the greater number, as the arrogance, obstinacy and bitterness of their spirits

spirits seemed the more confirmed by all the CHAP. endeavours used to allay them. XV.

This difference about church discipline drew from William Penn a small treatise, entitled *A brief Examination of Liberty spiritual*, designed to inform the judgments of the dissatisfied. Robert Barclay also took up his pen upon the same occasion, and handled the subject more copiously, in a piece under the title of *The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists and other pretended Churches, equally refused and refuted*. In which, with his usual clearness and strength of reasoning, he vindicated the discipline established amongst this people against those who accuse them of confusion and disorder on one hand, and such as calumniate them with tyranny and imposition on the other: He drew upon himself much reproach and invective from these separatists, who imagined his work was pointed at their dissent, and found his arguments too conclusive to answer.^a They called his sincerity in his profession in question, insinuating he might be popishly affected, if not a papist, being educated in France under an uncle that was a papist, if not a priest, and maintained church authority upon the same principles that the Romanists have done: But what will not prejudice misrepresent? He all along maintains it on different principles, and much of the work is employed in shewing the difference.

1676.
W. Penn writes upon the subject of this division,

and Robert Barclay his Anarchy of the Ranters,

which draws the calumny of the party upon the latter.

Of these leaders of separation, Story was the more considerable among their partizans,^b and more

^a Preface to Barclay's works.

^b T. Elwood.

CHAP. more active in propagating the dissent in other
 XV. parts of the nation. For this purpose he travelled in sundry parts, but it was in Bristol and
 1676. some of the western counties that he gained most
 W Rogers adherents; amongst these, William Rogers, a
 advocates merchant of Bristol, a bold and active man,
 the cause of entertaining a high opinion of his own capacity
 the Separatists. and abilities, stood forth as champion of their
 cause: He first discovered himself as such in
 advancing sundry objections to Robert Barclay's book, which he handed about in manuscript about the year 1677; upon which, at Robert Barclay's request, he met him in London, in order, that by a cool and moderate conference before divers friends from different parts of the nation, Robert Barclay might have an opportunity of explaining the passages objected to, which he apprehended William Rogers had misunderstood, in order that by satisfying and convincing him of his mistakes, an unedifying controversy might be prevented. In consequence of this conference, William Rogers wrote a letter to his friends, in which is the following passage: "The meeting was this day had, and
 " in it a *christian* and *very fair* debate, to the
 " satisfaction of both of us, as far as I can understand; and the matters chiefly objected by
 " me were fairly and brother-like, and in much
 " love, discoursed; and upon the whole matter
 " I am satisfied, that Robert Barclay is not
 " principled so as I and others have taken his
 " book to import."

Yet notwithstanding this fair concession, apparent candour often wants a bottom of sincerity with those who have suffered their tempers to be embittered with the spirit of party. Some months
 after

after this the said William Rogers and his adherents wrote sundry other papers against Robert Barclay's book and principles, not devoid of uncharitable reflections upon the author, and spread them abroad unknown to him, while he was confined in prison at Aberdeen. This ungenerous treatment occasioned Robert Barclay to write a vindication and explanatory postscript to his *Anarchy of the Ranters*, in order to give satisfaction to all of the society, but those who through prejudice seemed resolved not to be satisfied.

In the year 1682 William Rogers appeared in print in a quarto volume, to which he gave the pompous title of *The Christian Quaker, distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator*; under the former description comprehending himself and his own party, and representing the main body of the society as apostates and innovators. This book, which soon sunk into oblivion, was more remarkable for passionate intemperance of language than soundness of reasoning, abounding in personal invectives against many of the most eminent members of this society; but the chief force of the envy of him and his party was pointed at George Fox, as being the instrument of establishing that good order which they wanted to have considered as a grievance^c. Both their discourses and writings manifested the deep prejudice they had imbibed against this irreproachable character, which answered not their design of lessening him, or exalting themselves, or their cause, in the eyes of the society, or the world; but afforded him an opportunity of manifesting

W. Rogers publishes an abusive book under the title of the Christian Quaker, &c.

VOL. III.

B

his

^c William Penn's preface.

CHAP. his steady adherence to the inward principle of
 xv. truth, and the firmness of his mind in a new light,
 being preserved by conscious innocence in a
 1682. rectitude and dignity of conduct, as superior to
 wrath from the shafts of envy, as to fear from
 the oppression of power; he bore all their weak-
 nesses and malice with invincible patience, forgave
 all their bitter speeches, praying for them, that
 they might recover a sound mind, not returning
 reflection for reflection, but charitably endea-
 vouring to convince them of the danger of the
 error into which they were fallen, and the hurt
 they had sustained thereby; and by verbal admo-
 nitions and various epistles to preserve the society
 at large from being entangled in the like snare,
 laying open the subtlety of that spirit by
 which they were actuated, in entertaining and
 spreading groundless jealousies of the reli-
 gious care of friends over each other for their
 good.

William
 Rogers's
 challenge to
 the yearly
 meeting ac-
 cepted.

The aforementioned performance of William Rogers meeting with great applause from his own party, increased his vanity to that degree, that he came up to the yearly meeting at London in 1682; and at the conclusion thereof he gave notice in writing to this effect, viz. "that if
 "any were dissatisfied with his book, he was
 "there ready to maintain and defend, both it and
 "himself against all opposers." This vaunting
 challenge was neither dreaded nor slighted, but
 an answer immediately returned him in writing,
 that, "as many were dissatisfied with his book
 "and him, he should not fail (God willing) to
 "be met by the sixth hour next morning at the
 "meeting place at Devonshire house."

The

The meeting was held accordingly, and continued till noon, when it appeared that notwithstanding his vaunt he was not equal to the task he had undertaken; for although he was attended by many of his party to abet and assist him, he was so fairly foiled, and his errors and petulancy so fully exposed, that he quitted both the meeting, and the city abruptly, refusing a second meeting, which was offered for the further discussion of the subject of difference, leaving this frivolous excuse for his precipitate retreat, that he had before given earnest for his passage in the stage coach home, and was not willing to lose it.

This book of his did not pass unanswered. Thomas Elwood published a reply, under the title of *An Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers's book, miscalled the Christian Quaker*, answering it paragraphically. To which it doth not appear that any rejoinder was ever given. George Whitehead also published remarks upon it, in a piece, entitled *The Accuser of the Brethren cast down*.

It hath been remarked, that the establishing of discipline, and instituting of men's and women's meetings for the supporting thereof, was the original cause of this dissent and temporary separation. The separatists urging against them, that every man having received a measure of the spirit of God, ought to follow that as his leader, without regarding the prescriptions of men; that those meetings of discipline were therefore needless, as being employed in prescribing rules to the members of the society, and requiring their observance thereof, drawing an invidious parallel be-

B 2

tween

• T. Elwood.

CHAP.

XV.

1682.

T. Elwood
and George
White-
head's re-
ply.

CHAP. between them and the Romish councils and their
 XV. decrees; that such meetings and rules were an
 imposition upon conscience, and in them some
 1682. men were set up to usurp authority in the church
 over their brethren; that nothing ought to be
 given forth in the church of Christ but by way
 of advice or recommendation; and that every
 man ought to be left at his liberty to act accord-
 ing to the light of his own conscience without
 censure, or being accountable to any man, but
 only to God, the sole proper judge of con-
 science.

Against women's meetings they more particu-
 larly objected, as usurping authority in the
 church, contrary to the apostle Paul's prohibi-
 tion.

In support of the discipline introduced into
 the society it was advanced, in opposition to such
 arguments, that the Spirit of God is one and
 the same in all, and leads all who are faithful
 to its dictates into all truth and righteousness,
 into unity and brotherly kindness; that God,
 who, according to the apostle's testimony, is a
 God of order and not of confusion, doth not
 by his Spirit lead any into confusion and disor-
 der; but that they who walk in the light, as he
 is in the light, have fellowship one with another;
 that therefore the only rational ground of dis-
 sent, as following the leadings of the Spirit, with-
 out regarding the prescriptions of men, must be
 because these prescriptions are opposite to, or in-
 consistent with, the dictates of the Spirit of God;
 that the scriptures of truth are allowed to be
 written by holy men of old, as they were in-
 spired by the Holy Ghost, and this Spirit is
 not inconsistent with itself; if therefore these pre-
 scriptions

scriptions of men are consonant to and confirmed C H A P. by the scriptures, he who follows the leadings of XV. the Spirit can have no reason to reject prescriptions dictated by the same Spirit, or regulated by that rule which is universally acknowledged by Christians to have been dictated thereby, that therefore this argument, plausible as it may appear, proves nothing, till the prescriptions be first proved inconsistent with the scriptures of truth or right reason, which they apprehend had not been done in the case between the society and the discontented party. That the parallel attempted to be drawn between the church government adopted by friends, and that of the church of Rome, was ill founded, their principles and spirit in the administration of this government, and the ends to which it was directed, being quite different both in nature and object: In nature, as not being coercive or penal upon the persons or estates of such as dissent, and that not only for want of power, but because such penalties are unauthorized by the Gospel and primitive practice of the church; in object, because the former regards matters of faith and worship, but the latter only orderly conduct, agreeable to the principles of the society.

Hence the plea of liberty of conscience, which hath been reasonably advanced by protestants against the hierarchy of the church of Rome, as establishing articles of faith, institutions of worship, and ceremonious observations, for which they have no authority from scripture, or the primitive practice of the church, is groundlessly or absurdly advanced in opposition to the discipline of this society: For although we may reasonably plead a scruple of conscience against acknowledging

CHAP. ledging such an article of faith, or practising
 xv. such an institution of worship as hath not God for
 the object: yet we cannot reasonably plead the
 1682. like scruple against supporting the poor, visiting
 the sick, ending differences, reproving the licentious, reclaiming backsliders; neither against punctuality to our engagements; doing justly and living temperately; nor against obtaining the consent of parents and relations concerned in cases of marriage; or to give them, or the society satisfaction as to clearness from all others, and to wait previous to marriage for due enquiry to be made thereinto. That in society, meetings of discipline are so far from being needless; that they are both necessary and useful for attaining the best ends of uniting together in society. All societies, for instance, have poor, sick and aged members, widows and orphans, who demand the care of the body; this care cannot be taken effectually without some method; nor that method universally settled but by the deliberation and concurrence of the community: And further, all societies marry, trade and converse, and have one time or other some who are unjust, litigious, licentious, and others who may not fall under the censure of those without, yet violate the testimony and principles upon which they joined themselves in fellowship. Has then the society no power to establish such regulations as may prevent disorder and scandal? And is not the body at large the properest judge to deliberate and determine what is the fittest method to be pursued in such cases? That although God be the only proper judge of conscience, and man be accountable to him alone for the inward persuasion and frame of his mind, yet for his visible

ble conduct and conversation, which are cognizable to men, he is accountable not only to civil but also to religious society, while he continueth a member thereof, because the reputation of the society is virtually interested therein, and may be materially injured by a deviation from the rectitude of conduct professed by them, as a consequence of their principles; and that to preserve a consistency of conduct with virtuous, just and benevolent principles, a christian community or church, properly so called, hath a power not only to issue advice and recommendations, but to establish rules of discipline for regulating this external conduct, having the precedent of the christian church in its purest state; for we are clearly informed in the Acts of the Apostles, that they made rules for the conduct of the members of the church, and dispersed them to the believers for their observation. *As they went through the cities they delivered them the decrees for to keep, which were ordained of the Apostles and Elders which were at Jerusalem. And the churches were established in the faith, and increased in numbers daily.* Acts xvi. 4, 5.

C H A P.

XV.

1682.

And as to their objections to the women's meetings which were established in suffering times for the purposes of assisting in the care of the poor, the sick and the imprisoned, the apostle's prohibition affects them not; it being absurd to imagine that he ever meant to discourage religious women from cultivating the natural tenderness of their hearts, and following the impulse thereof, inclining them to acts of charity, in extending a tender care towards their friends in prison, the poor or the afflicted; and although, since that time, a motherly, watchful care over their own sex,

CHAP. sex to preserve them in an orderly conversation
 xv. hath been devolved upon them, as the properest
 to advise and counsel in many cases, yet their
 1682. meetings have no aspect of usurping authority
 over the man, as they have neither any oversight
 of the men's meeting, nor were their own meet-
 ings and services established but in compliance
 with the desire and directions of the men, from
 the consideration of the usefulness thereof.

In fine, the independency claimed by the dis-
 contented party is incompatible with the exist-
 ence of society; absolute independency in so-
 ciety being a contradiction in terms. Walking
 by the same rule, holding the same principles,
 and pursuing the same end, being the outward
 bond of communion betwixt the members of
 every visible society. Take all these away, and
 the society is dissolved, and reverts again to un-
 connected individuals.

The justness of this reasoning was proved by
 the event, for these separatists, like the ranters,
 seekers and other independent societies, found
 themselves too loosely compacted to adhere long
 together; their connection was so slight that it
 was soon dissolved, the more sincere coming in
 time to perceive the causelessness of their separa-
 tion, re-united themselves to the body of the so-
 ciety, and the rest soon fell to pieces and dwindled
 away.

1684.
 Public oc-
 currences.

The principal part of the public history of
 this year consists of prosecutions, many of them
 conducted in a manner in nowise to the credit
 of the promoters or conductors thereof, and of
 penalties and punishments enormously dispro-
 portioned to the charges brought against the de-
 fendants. The courts of justice, so termed,
 seem

seem in many cases to have been influenced in their judgment merely by the vindictive temper of party hatred; and the juries, influenced by them, and chosen from men of like temper, seem in their verdicts to have paid more regard to the accommodating of the wish of the bench, than the depositions of the evidence, or the obligation of their oaths *. In these circumstances of affairs the dissenters, who were ranked in the vanquished party, had little room to hope for ease. The Quakers renewed their application for relief

XV.

1684.

* Of this we meet with a remarkable instance in the course of this year, in the trial of Thomas Rosewell, dissenting minister of Rotherhithe, who was accused by three women of having uttered treasonable expressions in a sermon. They swore to two or three periods, and agreed exactly in their depositions. Yet Rosewell, in his defence, proved these women to be of abandoned and infamous characters; and as to the sermon of which he was accused, several witnesses who heard it, and some who wrote it in short-hand, deposed that he had used no such expressions as were sworn against him: The expressions were so gross that no man in his senses could be supposed to use them before a mixed audience: it was also urged that it was next to impossible that three women could remember so long a period on one single hearing, who had forgot the text of his sermon, and could not remember one single passage but the words they had deposed. In short, he defended himself so ably, that the Solicitor-General made no reply. Yet judge Jeffries, who presided at the trial, railing in his usual manner against conventicles and non-conformists, that all preaching at conventicles was treasonable, so inflamed the party prejudice of the jury, that they made no difficulty to bring him in *guilty*. But the palpable injustice of his sentence being almost universally condemned, as no better than legal murder, the king, abashed at the exorbitant lengths to which the pliant judges and juries now carried their partial resentments, prevented the execution of the sentence, by granting him a pardon.

CHAP. relief from their grievous sufferings, but with
 xv. no better success than before; the informers and
 persecuting magistrates assuming new spirit from
 the late executions, and pretending fresh occa-
 sion from the discovery of the late plot, conti-
 nued to persecute them by all the variety of penal
 laws.

1684.
 Sufferings
 continued.


Informers
 insatiable.

The informers harassed them with insolence*,
 perjury and rapine, upon the conventicle act,
 till

* William Bond, of Bridport in Dorsetshire, at this time an active informer, was a bailiff, and kept an alehouse; this Bond, and one Bryan, a lad he had trained to his hand, would make information at all adventures. He came to a silent meeting, and went away and swore that a preacher was there. He would sometimes carry prisoners to his house, and keep them there a month together. He had impudence enough to command and insult the constables and other officers, and even the justices. He seized the goods of John Newberry to the value of 30*l.* for a fine of 5*l.* He in concert with William Darby, constable, pulled the friends out of the meeting-house one by one, and carried two of them to his house, where he kept them prisoners. Darby at another time turned the friends out, and nailed up the doors of the meeting-house, sending eight of them to Bond's house, where they were put in a narrow stinking chamber for four days, men and women together, and not suffered to go out upon any necessary occasion: A bed being sent to one of them, Bond and his wife took it away, he telling them, *they should have no law.*

* William Kenway, of Bridport, being fined 5*l.* for himself and others meeting there, Bond and Darby broke open his doors, kept possession of his house two days and two nights, drank up his beer, and burned up his wood. They carried off all they could find within or without doors to the value of 13*l.* threatening withal, that if he brought any more goods into the house they would take them, insomuch that the man with his family was constrained, in the depth of winter, to remove his habitation out of the town. This Bond is represented to have been a man of a seared conscience, infamous character and debauched morals, and supported in extravagant living by the plunder of honest men's substance.

Neither

till they left some of them neither a bed, nor CHAP.
 even a stool to sit upon, so that whole families xv.
 who 

1684.

Neither age or sex, nor infirmity, moved the merciless informers or magistrates to compassion or humanity. Five women were taken by an informer and constable from a meeting at Ipswich, and carried before the bailiff of the town, who committed them to prison; three of them were near eighty years of age, and one of these also blind, so that she was led between two men to the bailiff's house. This magistrate's zeal exceeded his charity or his judgment: Could he apprehend any danger to government from an assembly of a few infirm old women?

One John Smith, and one Warner in Leicestershire, made themselves remarkably conspicuous in all the infamous qualifications of informers; they would sometimes make their informations upon mere conjecture, whereby two of this society suffered severe distress for a fine for a meeting they had not been at, the justice being as forward to convict as they to inform. Smith, meeting another on the highway, positively swore before justice Lyster what he only imagined, and obtained a warrant to distrain, by which he took from the man four cows worth 14*l*. One Mary Wood being fined on the information of these men, they stripped her of all her effects, leaving her nothing to lie on or scarce to sit on. But amongst the numbers prosecuted by these two men, and plundered by their extravagant distrains, the case of John Fox was peculiarly pitiable. A meeting was sometime kept at his house, upon which account these men persecuted him with information after information, and distrain upon distrain for fines of 20*l*. at a time till they stript him almost entirely, taking away even the meat in the house, and his casks of beer, ripping up the matting from the floor, and digging up a copper furnace and carrying it away, at the same time rudely abusing him, and calling him ill names, because upon viewing the warrant, reading a clause mentioning more than five persons beside the family, he said it was not true. About two weeks after this, hearing that the poor man (made such by their rapine) had got some bedding and other necessaries into his house for his family (some of whom for want of beds had been obliged to lodge elsewhere) they came again with officers, and Smith, in the assumed importance of his office, menaced the legal officers,

CHAP. who had supported themselves in decency were
 xv. reduced to the necessity of relying upon the hu-
 1684. manity of their neighbours for a night's lodging;
 and, as if the penalty of the conventicle act, unreasonably severe as it was, was yet inadequate to the rapacity and avarice of these informers and

ners, *If they left any thing in the house to the value of a penny he would make it cost them 5l. a man*; upon which they swept away all they could find. The sufferer, his wife, children and servants were constrained to lodge at other houses, having neither bed nor bed-clothes left, by which they and their children contracted great colds, it being in the depth of winter. The goods taken at this time were valued at upwards of 8l. 10s. and sold to Warner, informer, for 2l. 2s. 6d. At last this society was relieved from Smith's persecution by an order of king James to the justices of Leicestershire to give no sort of countenance to him or his prosecutions. *Besse's*

Henry Gates in Suffex was fined 40l. for preaching, for which he had goods seized to the value of 160l. One Calvert Bristow, a neighbour, observing the spoil, treated with the officers, who assigned him all the goods, on condition of his paying 40l. He took away as much as he thought sufficient to answer that sum, leaving the rest with Henry Gates, the owner: he then offered to pay the 40l. to the justices, upon their making him a valid sale of the goods: this they refused to do, and directed him to keep the money till the sessions. Upon this the informers, Henry and Matthew Marrian, conceived a grudge against Bristow for concerning himself in this affair, and hindering them from the spoil they aimed at. Wherefore they endeavoured to suborn one Bennet to swear treason against him. Bennet, though a very bad man, was not so hardened in wickedness, as to undertake so black a business, but discovered their design to Bristow, and also made oath of their attempt before a magistrate: Upon which the Marrians were sent to jail. There one of them confessed the whole affair, and afterwards they were bailed out in order to answer it at the assizes. However in the conclusion Calvert Bristow was obliged to pay in to the justices about 64l. 5s. and to repay himself out of Henry Gates's goods, as aforesaid, sold to him.

and persecuting magistrates, in numerous instances they resorted to the more ruinous one of
 23 Eliz. for 20l. * a month for absence from the national worship, whereby numbers suffered repeated and exorbitant seizures of their effects, to the great damage or ruin of their outward circumstances. They continued to be prosecuted in the Exchequer for their tithes; in the ecclesiastical courts to excommunication, and to premunire for not swearing. The trials for riots, of which we have given some examples in former years, were still in use, and the defendants generally brought in guilty, imprisoned and fined by the partial judges and juries of this corrupt and licentious
 age,

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1684.

* From several persons in Bucks goods were seized under this act, amounting to 295l. in value, which were disposed of by public sale for 90l. 2s. 6d. less than one-third of the real value. From one friend, exclusive of the above, were taken three geldings worth 23l. and when he appealed to the quarter sessions, his appeal not being in Latin was rejected, and treble costs given against him, for which his horses and other goods were taken to the value of 40l.

Several friends in Cheshire were distrained under the same act to the amount of 146l. 11s. 2d.

In Hertfordshire from a few friends were taken goods to the amount of 190l. and upwards.

In Norfolk John and William Roe, farmers, having been prosecuted on the statute for 20l. a month for twelve months absence from the national worship, the sheriff's officers came to their house to make a seizure for 240l. and accordingly seized all their cattle, corn and household goods, to the value of 183l. 4s. The behaviour of the officers and assistants was very rude: They broke open the doors, drawers and chests, and threatened the servants with sword and pistol. To make themselves merry they roasted a pig, and laid so much wood on the hearth that they set the chimney on fire, which, with their revelling, cursing and swearing, affrighted W. Roe's wife to the endangering of her life, causing her to miscarry a short time after.

CHAP. age, and the prisons to be crowded with fresh
 XV. prisoners of this society, in addition to those
 already confined. To detain the reader with a
 1684. detail of all the particular instances of oppression
 they underwent appearing a needless repetition
 of similar cases, after a recital of so many pre-
 ceding, I shall content myself with a few notes,
 as before, in confirmation of this general ac-
 count thereof.

Account of
 William
 Bennet.

This year died William Bennet of Wood-
 bridge in Suffolk, a man of a religious turn of
 mind from his infancy. This religious inclina-
 tion increasing with his years, incited him to
 seek out and associate with the strictest sort of
 professors, and with this view he frequented the
 meetings of the independents for some time, as
 appearing to him the nearest to purity in pro-
 fession; but upon his more intimate acquaint-
 ance with them he became dissatisfied with his
 choice. When hearing the public testimony of
 some of the people called Quakers, he was so
 affected therewith that he joined their society,
 and continued therein a steady, serviceable and
 honourable member till his death. He received
 a gift in the ministry, and travelled in many
 parts of England in the exercise thereof, to the
 edification of his friends, and convincement of
 others; adorning his profession and doctrine by
 the innocence and integrity of his life, in so
 eminent a manner as to gain universal esteem, and
 to extort even from the adversaries of his profession
 a confession of his personal merit. Yet his suffer-
 ings were remarkable; he appears to have spent,
 at least in the latter part of his life, nearly as
 much, if not more time in prison, than in the
 enjoyment of his liberty, not for any real of-
 fence,

His frequent
 imprison-
 ments.

fence, but for preserving the testimony of a good conscience. At Bliborough, in 1661, I apprehend in the general imprisonment in consequence of the rising of the fifth-monarchy-men. In 1662, he, with several men and women, was taken out of a meeting at Yarmouth, and sent to prison, where they were confined all together in a noisome unhealthy dungeon, without convenient food, lodging, or other necessities; at the succeeding sessions the women were set at liberty; and not long after the Recorder released the men also, no cause of their imprisonment appearing, nor any legal process against them. The bailiffs, displeased at their release, presently committed them again by a new mittimus, of which desiring a copy they received a positive refusal. How long this imprisonment continued I meet with no account. In or about 1664 he was again imprisoned in Norwich castle with fifteen others, who were taken from their religious meetings, and committed for refusing to swear: He was again confined in the jail of Edmundsbury in 1665, and suffered a very severe, distressing and tedious imprisonment there; being kept (much of the time) among felons, for the greatest part of eight years, so closely, as scarce to go over the threshold for five years together. At last the king's declaration in 1672 delivered him from the hands of his cruel persecutors. Lastly, in the year 1683, the parochial officers of Woodbridge, excited thereto by Edward Brume, priest of that place, came to the meeting there, when a church-warden and constable seized William Bennet with violence whilst on his knees at prayer, and hauled him and several others before Edward Jenny, justice, who committed them

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At Bliborough.

Yarmouth.

Edmundsbury.

CHAP. them to Melton jail, where William Bennet was
 XV. closely confined until the sessions, when he was
 1684. indicted for being at a riotous assembly; he used
 Melton. many arguments to prove the religious meet-
 ings he frequented were peaceable, and purely
 to worship God, and pleaded Not guilty to the
 indictment: Being then required to give bail for
 his appearance at another sessions, and for his
 good behaviour, for his refusal he was commit-
 ted, and brought with others upon his trial be-
 fore Christopher Melton, chairman: He pleaded
 his cause with so much force of reason, that the
 jury brought in their verdict Not guilty. At
 which the chairman being displeased, persuaded
 them to return and alter their verdict, upon
 which they brought him in guilty of being pre-
 sent at an unlawful assembly: The chairman
 ordered William to be carried to Ipswich the
 same day in order to be fined, it being the
 sharpest time of that winter, so remarkable for
 extremity of cold; in going thither he received
 much wet, it snowing hard all the way; and
 coming thither late, and many other prisoners
 with him, for want of a bed he was obliged to
 sit up all night in that wet cold condition, which
 so weakened him, who was naturally of a ten-
 der constitution, that he never got the better
 of it. At the sessions there he was fined 20l.
 and sent back to prison. At the succeeding ses-
 sions he was called again, when no mention was
 made of the fine; but the court pretending they
 had a particular order from the king to deal
 with him, tendered him the oath of allegiance,
 and upon his refusal took an additional occa-
 sion of continuing him in prison. These different
 modes of persecuting this innocent man shew
 the

the jury

bring him
in not guil-
ty, but are
persuaded
to alter
their ver-
dict.

He is sent
to Ipswich
in very cold
weather,

and being
much wet,
takes cold,
which he
never got
free from.

Fined 20l
and recom-
mitted.

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Dies by the
hardships he
suffered.Life and
sufferings
of Thomas
Stordy.

the unrelenting malice of the ruling party at this time, and the determined resolution of his persecutors to prolong his imprisonment to the utmost. By his close and continued confinement he grew weaker and weaker, till as many others had done, he fell a sacrifice to the vindictive temper of partial magistrates, and the forced construction of unequal laws; for the hardship of his unmerited imprisonment put a period to his existence in the body the 23d of the 4th month, 1684.

Equally remarkable were the repeated and severe sufferings of Thomas Stordy, of Moorehouse in Cumberland, who also laid down his life in this year in Carlisle jail, under a cruel persecution for the testimony of a good conscience. He was descended from a family of repute in that country, and born to the inheritance of a handsome estate; and had his religious sentiments fallen in with the passion for conformity, now predominant, he might have bid fair for making some figure in his country, and holding a rank of eminence therein.

But about the term of middle age he became seriously thoughtful about his better part, whereby he was circumscribed in his views and desires after the vanities and carnal gratifications, the pomp and the power of this world, and incited to the pursuit of pure religion, as the foundation of peace here, and everlasting happiness hereafter. With this view he joined in society with the independents, amongst whom he was in particular estimation for his talent in exhortations, expositions, and such like religious exercises in use amongst them. After some time he left them, and joined the people called Quakers,

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which in the circumstances of the times was an indubitable proof of the sincerity of his heart in his religious researches; when having it in his power to live in ease and affluence by a temporizing conduct, what but a conscientious persuasion of acting right could induce him to embrace a profession hated, vilified, persecuted and exposed to the loss of all that mankind reckons valuable? In this society he spent the remainder of his life in near unity with his friends, and truly respectable in his neighbourhood as a man of a circumspect, sober and temperate demeanour amongst them, upright in his dealings, obliging in his dispositions, hospitable in his house, and liberally charitable to the poor around him. But in this age, at once bigotted and licentious, virtues the most conspicuous were insufficient to secure the possessor from the iron hand of persecution, from priests and priest-ridden magistrates, who would see no virtue beyond the pale of conformity, nor hardly vice within it, seeming to place the sum of religion therein. Thomas Stordy was first imprisoned in the general imprisonment in 1660, for declining to take the oath of allegiance, and detained in prison nine weeks. We have already seen his illegal imprisonment at Carlisle in 1662, and his condemnation in a premunire, under which he was detained a close prisoner ten years from his wife and family, until he was released by the king's aforesaid declaration in 1672: His real estate was recovered through the intercession of Charles Howard earl of Carlisle; but his personal estate entirely lost; and as if his imprisonment and the loss of his substance was not a sufficient gratification of the enmity of the persecutors,

Prisoner
ten years at
Carlisle.

cutors, in the year 1670, whilst lying under this confinement, now of eight years duration, a warrant was granted against his goods and chattels for a fine of 20l. 10s. upon the conventicle act, for a meeting at Moorhouse. Thus was an honest respectable citizen harassed by prosecution upon prosecution, and penalty upon penalty, by the variety of penal laws now brought into force; though innocent of any crime against the state: first arbitrarily imprisoned as seditious, although guiltless of any seditious practice; again still more arbitrarily imprisoned without apparent cause; and to detain him there, occasion was sought against him to deprive him at once of his liberty and property, by a snare laid for the purpose, because he durst not violate the command of Christ, as he understood it; fined for a meeting when he was under restraint several miles from it, and last of all prosecuted by one Launcelot Simpson*, a proctor,

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on

* The Character of this Launcelot Simpson may be gathered from a more particular account we have of his treatment of Richard Banks. This man, one of the same society, being a farmer, rented some land, which Simpson purchased; who, not content with the rent of his purchase, seemed to adopt a plan for possessing himself of the best part of the tenant's property, and impoverishing him at once. He prosecuted him in the ecclesiastical court to excommunication, and under pretence that all he had was too little to defray the expence of the prosecution, he came one day in the owner's absence with an assistant, and nailed up his granary and barn door, turning out all his threshers: He came again in the night when the family was in bed, and took possession of his stable and cow-house and turned out his cattle, and the snow lying thick on the ground, some of the young calves pe-

C H A P. on the revived obsolete statute of 23 Eliz. for 20th
 XV. a month for absence from the public worship,
 1684. cast into prison and detained there several years,
 until his death, which happened the 22^d of December, 1684. As he sought for solid peace of mind through many tribulations, he was favoured therewith at his conclusion; for not long before his decease, being visited by some of his friends, he encouraged them to faithfulness by this testimony to the advantage thereof, “ if
 “ you continue faithful to the Lord whilst ye
 “ live in this world, he will reward you, as he

rished with the cold, and others were with difficulty recovered: He caused the hedge to be torn away from the haystack, and put his own cattle to eat it. The poor man had about nine score sheep; to these Simpson pretended a title, and by this means deterred others from purchasing any of them; so that after contesting his claim, and the death of near a third part, the owner was obliged to let Simpson take them at his own price, which was about one third of the value. Richard Banks, perceiving he was like to obtain neither quiet nor property, while exposed to the chicanery and oppression of this man, took another farm twenty miles distant. Even thither Simpson pursued him, and shortly after had him arrested on a writ of excommunication; but this upon examination proving out of date, his purpose was prevented at that time. He afterwards caused both the said Richard and his wife to be apprehended together, and taken away from their children and servants, by such rude unfeeling persons as are generally employed in such offices, who would not give them time to leave the necessary directions behind them, nor scarce speak to their workmen, having at that time ten men at work. On their way to prison they met Simpson, of whom Richard demanded before witnesses, “ If he owed him any thing:” But the other could not make any demand appear, only reckoning his imprisonment was for contempt of the law: Richard then desiring the forbearance of only two days to put his affairs in some order, Simpson replied, “ He would not give him two hours.”

“ now

“ now rewardeth me with his sweet peace.” C H A P.
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1684.
His testimony against tithes under the gospel dispensation was proved to be truly conscientious, for after he was convinced of the impropriety of the demand, he not only refused to pay them, but to receive them; for he inherited from his predecessors an impropriation of 10l. per annum, which he released to the owners of the lands from whence they accrued (to whom he thought they belonged of right) by a legal instrument quitting claim thereto, for himself, his heirs and assigns for ever.

Thus the revived persecution was carried on to the death of King Charles II. without relaxation, who about this time was taken off in a sudden fit of convulsion or apoplexy, leaving little less than one thousand five hundred of the people called Quakers in prison on various prosecutions. Having now finished the account of this persecuting reign in England, before I proceed to the transactions of the succeeding reign it seems a proper period to take another review of the state of this society in other parts of the world, and first in Ireland.

C H A P. XVI.

I R E L A N D.

Account of William Morris.—Benjamin Bangs visits Ireland.—At Antrim rudely treated, but has afterwards a solid Meeting.—His Prediction.—He meets with a Company of Men, whose Teacher is fled—Which affords him occasion to recommend them a Teacher in their own Hearts.—William Edmundson and Robert Jackson prosecuted for Tithe.—William Edmundson's Conference with the Bishop.—Procures their Liberty.—Dissenters ordered to discontinue their Meetings.—Friends continue to meet as usual.—John Burnyeat committed to Prison.

C H A P. XVI. **T**HIS year died^b William Morris, of Castle-Salem in the county of Cork, who at the time William Edmundson was put in the stocks at Belturbet was an elder of repute amongst the baptists, and a man in authority, being a captain in the army, a justice of peace, and commissioner of the revenue; and upon the occasion remonstrated against the magistracy there, in favour of William and his brethren, telling these persecuting independents, *the time would come when they would be glad to shelter under their [the Quakers]*

1680.
Account of
W. Morris.

^b Ruttys.

Quakers] wings: Although he was a man of great abilities, he had been convinced by a weak instrument, and it being now known that he had joined this people, his commissions were taken from him. But being a person of considerable consequence, both from his station in the world, and his abilities as a man, he was a serviceable member of this society, particularly in applications to the government on behalf of his suffering friends, with whom he also shared in suffering. He wrote an excellent little tract, intitled "Tithes no Gospel Ordinance."

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1682.

Benjamin Bangs, from Cheshire, landed in Dublin, and travelled through several parts of this nation, exercising his ministry to the edification of his brethren, and their number was increased by the conviction of many, who before had not professed with them.

Benjamin
Bangs visits
Ireland.

In the course of his travels he came to Antrim, the inhabitants of which town were mostly of the presbyterian profession, sundry emigrants from Scotland having at different times removed to settle in these parts. He had a meeting here in the evening, which was greatly crowded by these high professors, some of whom are said to have come with a design to oppose him. The meeting-house being too small to contain the number resorting thereto, the people without grew very tumultuous and noisy, and at length while Benjamin was preaching, began to throw pieces of dirt and turf; upon observing such rudeness, he made a full stop, which occasioned a general silence, and after a short pause he made this remark, "I understand this is a place of great profession of religion. I am sorry to see so much irreligion as appears amongst

At Antrim
meets with
some rude
treatment,
but the
rudeness be-
ing repre-
ssed he has
a solid
meeting.

CHAP. “ amongst you at this time, through your rude
 XVI. “ behaviour. It is not long since I came out of
 “ my native country, and I think it will not be
 1682. “ long ere I return again, and then what shall I
 “ say of you to your poor suffering brethren
 “ in England?” This remonstrance, expressed
 in great awfulness, affected the more considerate
 part of the audience with a sense of the scandal,
 which such abusive behaviour brought on their profession
 of religion, and therefore exerting themselves to quell
 the disorder, and putting a stop thereto, the meeting
 afterwards was held in great solemnity, whereby many
 present were reached to the heart, and a young man
 of the popish persuasion convinced, as were many
 others in this part of the nation.

His prediction.

Benjamin, to the aforesaid remonstrance, was
 concerned to add this prediction, *the time draws
 nigh that ye will be blown away like chaff before
 the summer threshing floor, and the place of your
 meetings shall not be found*; which before he left
 the nation he found to be brought to pass:
 After attending the half-years meeting in
 Dublin, and travelling southward to Cork, and
 from thence to Tralee in the county of Kerry,
 a place where none of the people called Quakers
 resided, and where they were little known;
 amongst these strangers, to whom, from a particular
 impulse on his mind, he paid this religious
 visit, he had a comfortable meeting, under the
 sense of divine assistance attending him in his
 service, and affecting the minds of the people
 with religious consideration, with solid impressions
 whereof they withdrew from the meeting;
 and he returned again to the North, where, on the
 way from Antrim to Grange, he observed ten
 or

or twelve men walking along in a very *solitary* manner, and it arose in his heart, *These are sheep having no shepherd*: When he came up to them, he entered into discourse with them, and enquiring of them, if they were going to a meeting. They answered, *our minister is silenced*, for orders are come down, prohibiting all dissenters from assembling, *so now we have no teacher*, which appeared to him in effect to verify his prediction, *that their meeting could not be found*. For the inimical disposition entertained at this time by the ruling party in England against dissenters, having spread to Ireland, exerted itself in similar measures of persecution to suppress their meetings, which produced the effect designed here as well as there, with the several other classes of dissenters: The people generally, except the Quakers, declined their public meetings, and their teachers absconded, to escape persecution.

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1682.

Meets with a company of men, who inform him their teacher is silenced.

Benjamin Bangs from the previous discourse, took occasion to bring them off from a dependence upon hireling teachers, as “the hireling fleeth because he is an hireling and careth not for the flock,” (John x. 11, 12, 13.) and to turn them to the teacher that cannot *be removed into a corner*, “the inward principle of the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men, teaching them what to deny, and how to live, Titus ii. 11, 12. The manifestation of the spirit given to every one to profit withal, 1 Cor. xii. 7.” advising them to turn their minds inward, and mind the secret operations of it, whereby they would find by a lively experience, that it checks for bad words and bad actions; and as they minded its teachings, they would find it would lead

Which administers an occasion to refer them to the teacher in their own hearts.

CHAP. lead them into all truth. The men were well
 XVI. pleased, and affected with his discourse, declaring
 1682. at parting, they had never heard things so opened
 to them in their lives.

Here we have a remarkable instance of the spirit of universal charity and benevolence, of the zeal and diligence, which actuated these ancient laborious ministers among the people called Quakers of this age, to watch every opportunity to answer the end of their calling, to promote truth, and explain to mankind the way of life and salvation, without fee or reward from man. Benjamin Bangs having travelled upwards of one thousand seven hundred miles, held one hundred and eighty meetings, exclusive of Dublin, and spent near twelve months in laborious and profitable service amongst his friends and others, returned home.

William
 Edmundson
 and Robert
 Jackson
 prosecuted
 for tithes.

William Edmundson and Robert Jackson having been prosecuted in the bishop's court to excommunication for non-payment of tithes, were taken upon a writ, committed to prison, and detained prisoners about twenty weeks, when the Earl of Ely (their landlord) interesting himself to procure their liberty, the bishop ordered them to appear personally in his court at Kildare, where they appeared accordingly before the bishop, in company with several priests, the aforesaid earl, and fundry other persons of note. The bishop desired to know William Edmundson's reasons why he did not pay tithes; but William was not forward to enter upon the subject, being diffident of his capacity to manage it, so as not to hurt a good cause through a weak defence. Notwithstanding, as the bishop was urgent, a conference commenced, which held

William
 Edmundson
 hath a
 conference
 with the
 bishop,

held for three hours, wherein William was enabled, with wisdom and understanding, as he thought, superior to his own, and a ready recollection of arguments from scripture, to prove *tithes abolished, and that it was antichristian to pay or receive them in the gospel dispensation*, to the full satisfaction of the audience: So that their suffering and this conference thereupon had a good effect, and some other religious subjects were handled, which afforded William Edmundson an opportunity to explain the principles of himself and friends, in relation to a gospel ministry, faith, and the true worship of God. The bishop, who appears to have been a man of moderation, soon after caused them to be released, and afterwards both himself and the officers of his court behaved with kindness towards the members of the society.

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1682.

which procures their liberty.

About the middle of this summer a fresh order was issued by government to the several sects of dissenters in Dublin, to forbear meeting publicly in their worship houses as formerly: And the archbishop of Dublin sending for Anthony Sharp, informed him, that it was the desire of government that his friends also should forbear their public assemblies: but friends returned answer, that they believed it was their indispensable duty to meet together to worship God, from whom they received all their mercies, and not to neglect this reasonable service for fear of human penalties; the end of their assemblies being purely for divine worship, and for no other purpose. In consequence of these orders, other dissenters generally deserted their meetings; but the people called Quakers, under persuasion of duty, assembled together as formerly,

1683.

Dissenters ordered to discontinue their meetings.

But friends continue to keep up their meetings.

CHAP. merly, and thereby became obnoxious to cen-
 XVI. sure and punishment from the secular power,
 but in a degree very short of the sufferings of
 1633. their brethren in England. Upon a first day the
 marshal and several of the mayor's officers came
 to the meeting at Wormwood-gate, where find-
 ing John Burnyeat preaching, the marshal com-
 manded him to go along with him, which, after
 some discourse, he did. He commanded the
 meeting to disperse, but the members kept their
 places quietly. John Burnyeat being taken be-
 fore the mayor, was asked, *why they acted con-*
trary to the orders of government? To which
 John replied, *we do nothing in contempt of go-*
vernment. But, said the mayor, *why do you not*
obey them?

John. Because it is matter of conscience to
 us, and that which we believe to be our indis-
 pensable duty, to meet together to worship
 God.

Mayor. You may be misled.

John. If we be misled we are willing to be
 informed.

Then it being urged that other dissenters had
 submitted and why would not they? To which
 John Burnyeat returned answer, "What they do
 " will be no plea for us before the judgment seat
 " of God." After some further discourse, the
 mayor committed him to prison, to which, soon
 after, Anthony Sharp and Alexander Seaton were
 committed. After a month's imprisonment, ap-
 plication was made to the mayor for their re-
 lease, who refused; but, in consequence of an
 application to the Earl of Arran, lord deputy,
 it was obtained, after an imprisonment of about
 two months.

John Burnyeat con-
 demned to prison.

C H A P. XVII.

W E S T I N D I E S.

The West Indian Islands the first Part of America visited by the People called Quakers.—General Imprisonment there.—Greatest Sufferings for refusing to bear Arms.—Several Friends from England embark for Barbadoes.—George Fox convenes the Men's and Women's Meetings at his Lodgings, being weak at his Arrival.—Pays a Visit to the Governor, and is kindly received, which occasions a large Meeting at Bridgetown.—Ralph Fretwell, a Judge, being convinced, is turned out of his Office.—Thomas Briggs and William Edmundson proceed to Antigua, thence to Nevis, where they are not suffered to land.—George Fox continues in Barbadoes, where he hath good Service.—The Priests endeavour to stir up Persecution, and to render Friends suspected, whereupon they publish a Confession of their Faith.—Friends accused of a design to stir up the Negroes to Rebellion.—Their Vindication.—George Fox and others pass to Jamaica.—Elizabeth Hooton dies there.—Her Life.

IT hath been already remarked the two first C H A P.
of these people who went to New England ar- XVII.
rived there in a ship from Barbadoes in 1656. ~~~~~
Whence it appears this island of Barbadoes, 1656.
and

CHAP. XVII. and the adjacent islands of Nevis and Antigua, were the first of the American Plantations which were visited by any of the people called Quakers from England, whose labours in the work of the ministry seem to have been attended with success, to the convincement of several of the inhabitants of the validity of the doctrines they published; but it is remarkable, that in every quarter of the world wherever these doctrines spread, although calculated to promote virtue, peace, and due subordination in religious and civil society, persecution still followed.

1656.
The West-Indian islands first visited by this people.

1658. In the island of Nevis, Humphrey Highwood, the first inhabitant who entertained the people called Quakers, having given a friendly reception to three of them, Peter Head, John Rouse and Mary Fisher; he was cited to appear before the governor, and charged with the breach of a law enjoining notice to be given to the governor of the arrival of all strangers within a limited time, which the said Humphrey, through inadvertency, had suffered to elapse, for which undesigned omission he was committed to prison.

Humphrey Highwood committed to prison.

He had not as yet embraced the principles of the said people, but after some time being convinced thereof, he suffered imprisonment: First, for declining his usual appearance in arms and service in the militia, and a second time for appearing before the governor with his hat on, and was detained in prison till the next court, at which, as there was no law extant making such appearance criminal, he was set at liberty; but at that time they made a law, *That whosoever for the future should come into any court with his*

his hat on, should pay a fine of five hundred pounds of sugar, or suffer a month's imprisonment. CHAP. XVII.

1658.
1660.

General imprisonment.

Upon the arrival at Barbadoes of the king's proclamation in consequence of the insurrection of the fifth-monarchy-men, there seems to have been a very general imprisonment of the members of this society in that island, for declining the oath of allegiance, which the magistrates here were zealous to enforce, in order to ingratiate themselves with the government.

They also suffered by frequent distresses for refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the priests by law established, and toward the charges of repairing the public worship houses, which were enforced by penal laws, frequently executed with more than legal severity.

Greatest sufferings for refusing to bear arms.

But they were exposed to the severest of sufferings in person and property for refusing to bear arms or work at the fortifications. The laws of the country requiring the personal service of the inhabitants, their servants and horses, and enacting severe penalties in case of default, therefore for their conscientious testimony in these respects, they were not only liable to severe fines and exorbitant distrains, frequently to double the value of the estimated fine, but to frequent imprisonments and corporal punishment, at the arbitrary pleasure of officers and military commanders.

Feeling their sufferings heavy and multiplied, they made repeated remonstrances to the successive governors and council for redress of their grievances and ease from their sufferings; but here, as in England, instead of relief, heavier penal laws were often the result.

Soon

CHAP. XVII. Soon after the yearly meeting in London in 1671, several friends took shipping from England in order to visit the West Indies, and other parts of the British dominions in America, and after a passage of near two months arrived safely in Barbadoes. In this voyage they were closely pursued by a Sallee man of war, and apparently in danger of being taken, but were providentially delivered; for when this ship was come up with them, it being by moon-light, a thick cloud intercepted the view; the moon set, and a fresh gale arising, carried them rapidly on their course, and they saw them no more^a.

1671.
Several
friends from
England
embark for
America.

The friends who went over at this time in company were George Fox, Thomas Briggs, William Edmundson, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widders, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton and Elizabeth Miers, and John Burnyeat the year before. George Fox, through indisposition, was so weak at his landing that he was not of ability for some time to go much abroad, but his fellow labourers and the companions of his voyage entered diligently upon the business, which had induced them to encounter the difficulties of a passage to these remote islands, viz. to promote true religion and righteousness in places where they were too little considered or practised. Here their gospel labours were attended with such success, that many of the inhabitants of this island were remarkably awakened from their spiritual lethargy.

^a George Fox and William Edmundson's journals.

thargy. The meetings crowded by people of all degrees, even some of the principal rank amongst them, and many were convinced of the truth of the doctrines they published.

C H A P.

XVII.

1671.

George Fox's concern pointing particularly to the promotion of that discipline and good order amongst his friends in this island, which he had been employed in establishing in other parts, and not being able yet to travel, the men and women assembled in their respective meetings for the affairs of the society at his lodging at Thomas Rous's, which furnished him with the opportunity of being present, where he found his assistance and directions much wanted, sundry disorders having crept in for want of vigilance and care. Besides the subjects of discipline usual in other places, he recommended to their especial care the case of their negro slaves, advising to instruct them in Christianity, and endeavour to instil into them the fear of their creator, as well those they might purchase as those who were born in their families; also that they should cause their overseers to treat them with humanity and gentleness, and not to follow the custom too prevalent of using them with cruelty; and that after certain years of servitude they should set them free. This advice being well accepted and observed by the members of this society, caused a general alarm to the inhabitants; gave a handle to their adversaries to misrepresent their good intentions, and some time after occasioned them trouble and damage.

G. Fox convenes the men's and women's meetings at his lodgings.

After George Fox was able to go abroad, he, in company with his host Thomas Rous, paid a visit to the governor, who received them

G. Fox pays a visit to the governor,

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D

with

C H A P. XVII. with remarkable kindness; and a few days after, a general meeting being held at Bridgetown, the rumour of this visit to the governor, and the kind reception he met with, drew many of the officers, both civil and military, and others not of the lowest ranks, from most parts of the island to the meeting. Lewis Morris, who had been a colonel and a member of the council, having been before convinced, brought in company with him Ralph Fretwell, a judge in the island. The meeting, which was very large, was conducted to the great satisfaction of the general part of of the audience, and Ralph Fretwell aforesaid, through the powerful and effectual ministry of George Fox, was thoroughly convinced; and not discouraged by the general contempt which this people lay under, openly professed himself of the society of the people called Quakers. He was one of the chief judges of the court of Common Pleas in this island, had been regularly sworn into office, and executed it with integrity and honour; but after this his profession, his adversaries insisted upon his being sworn again, on purpose that they might take advantage of his religious scruple, and procured it to be put to the vote in council. Many of the council disapproved of the motion, and upon putting the question, they were equally divided, but the governor having the casting vote gave it against him, being actuated more by the narrowness of party spirit, prevalent in this age, than a regard to justice or the public good.

1671.

which causes a large meeting at Bridgetown.

Ralph Fretwell being convinced,

is turned out of his place of judge.

Thomas Briggs and W. Edmundson proceed to Antigua,

After this meeting Thomas Briggs and William Edmundson took leave of George Fox, and proceeded to the islands of Antigua and Nevis.

Nevis. In the former they had large meetings, C H A P. attended by many of the principal inhabitants, XVII. as well as numbers of other ranks. Many 1671. were convinced by their ministry, and amongst the rest Colonel Winthrop, who had been governor, at whose house they had afterwards several large and satisfactory meetings.

^b When they had finished their service in Antigua they set sail for Nevis, where soon after they came to anchor. A marshal was sent aboard by the governor, a man of a perfecting spirit, with orders, *that none should come ashore until he knew whence the vessel came, and who were in it*; in consequence whereof they were detained on board; and the governor receiving intelligence who the passengers in the vessel were, immediately sent an officer and a guard of soldiers, with strict command to suffer none of them to go on shore, nor any of the islanders to go on board to see or converse with them, upon the penalty of a large fine; but the officer and soldiers being of a better temper, carried themselves kindly to them, and suffered several of their friends to come to visit them, and by consent of the owner of the vessel, Colonel Winthrop, they held a meeting on board, to their mutual edification.

The governor sent for the master of the ship, who was no Quaker, and obliged him to enter into a bond of 1000l. sterling to carry them back to Antigua; but in the mean time, while they lay there, Colonel Stapleton, governor of Montserrat, paid them a visit, to whom William Edmundson complained of the inhospitable

CHAP. pitable treatment of this governor of Nevis:
 XVII. “ That it was very hard usage, that they, being
 1671. “ Englishmen, and coming so far as they had
 “ done to visit their countrymen, should be
 “ prohibited from coming on shore, to refresh
 “ themselves within King Charles’s dominions,
 “ after such a long voyage.” Colonel Staple-
 ton replied, “ It is true; but we hear that since
 “ your coming into the Carribee islands seven
 “ hundred of our militia are turned Quakers,
 “ and Quakers will not fight, and we have
 “ need of men to fight, being surrounded by
 “ enemies, and that is the reason why gover-
 “ nor Wheeler will not suffer you to come on
 “ shore.” Accordingly, by the governor’s or-
 ders, they were carried back to Antigua, where
 they were received with gladness by their
 friends, met with no molestation from the go-
 vernment, their meetings were resorted to by
 many of all ranks, and their testimony well re-
 ceived by them.

G. Fox con-
 tinues in
 Barbadoes
 and hath
 good ser-
 vice.

^d George Fox continued still exercised in his
 ministerial gift in Barbadoes, where he had
 many large and satisfactory meetings, both for
 worship and discipline, free from any interrup-
 tion from the government, the former of which
 many of other societies attended. At one of
 them Colonel Lyne, a sober man, ^{thas} so well
 satisfied with George Fox’s testimony, that he
 expressed his satisfaction in these terms: “ Now
 “ I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil
 “ of you, who say you do not own Christ,
 “ nor that he died; whereas I perceive you
 “ exalt

^d George Fox’s journal.

“ exalt Christ in all his offices, beyond what I CH A P.
 “ have ever heard before.” XVII.

But as his labour in the Gospel was effectual ^{1671.}
 to the convincement of several in most parts of the island, the priests and their partizans being much disturbed and alarmed, had recourse to their customary means of redress, in endeavours to instigate the magistrates to severity against him and his fellow-labourers; but finding themselves frustrated in these endeavours, they next exerted themselves to render them odious or suspected, by strenuously dispersing amongst the people the vulgar calumnies of the time, which had been repeatedly objected to them, and as often refuted by them, “ That they denied
 “ God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Scriptures, &c.”
 whereupon they thought it requisite to draw up and publish a confession of their faith, wherein they assert their belief in one only wise, omnipotent and eternal God, the creator of all things in heaven and earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made, who is God over all, blessed for ever. That they own and believe in Jesus Christ, his only begotten son, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. That he was crucified for us in the flesh, without the gates of Jerusalem; was buried, and rose again the third day by the power of his father for our justification: That he ascended up into heaven, and now sitteth on the right hand of God.

Concerning the holy scriptures, they believe they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of
 God,

The priests
endeavour
to stir up
persecution,

and render
friends sus-
pected,


whereupon
they publish
a confession
of their
faith.

CHAP. God, through the holy men of God, who
 xvii. "spoke as they were moved by the Holy
 { "Ghost;" that they are to be read and be-
 1671. lieved, and are "profitable for réproof, for
 "correction, and for instruction in righteous-
 "ness, that the man of God may be perfect,
 "thoroughly furnished unto all good works."
 George Fox's Journal, folio, page 435, 436,
 much more at large.

Friends ac-
 cused of a
 design to
 stir up the
 Negroes to
 rebellion.

But the malignity of his accusers did not stop here, the universality of the benevolence of these faithful ministers, and disposition to be serviceable in the cause of righteousness to every class of mankind, furnished their adversaries with occasion to invent another calumny, which applied home to the passions of the people, as affecting them in a tender part, their secular interests and safety; persecution still endeavouring to pervert religious dissent into a crime against the state. We have seen the care and concern that George Fox had upon him respecting the negro slaves in the families of friends. The principle of universal charity incited him and his fellow-labourers, both to promote a religious care over them from their masters of the society, as a part of their respective families, and also to hold meetings among them in different plantations, wherein they exhorted them to justice, sobriety, temperance, chastity, piety, and to due subjection to their masters and governors. From these charitable endeavours to instil religious sentiments into this poor neglected and oppressed part of the species, their opponents took occasion to add
 this

this to the before recited calumnies, “ *That they* CH A P.
taught the Negroes to rebel.” XVII.

In their vindication against this charge they 
 appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that this 1671.
 was an abominable untruth, their principles and Against which charge they vindicate themselves.
 practice being utterly abhorrent of such an intention: That their addressees to these poor people
 had been directed to exhort them to be sober, to fear God, to love their masters and mistresses, to be faithful and diligent in their service and business; that they cautioned them against a plurality of wives, against theft, drunkenness, adultery, fornication, cursing, swearing, lying, and such vices as people of their station are too prone to; referring them to something within them, that tells them, they should not practise these, nor other evils. That if notwithstanding they should commit them, they informed them, that there were but two ways, one which leads to Heaven, whither the righteous go into inconceivable happiness; and the other that leads to Hell, whither the wicked and debauched, whoremongers, adulterers, murderers and lyars, go into everlasting misery. They wish it to be considered, that it is no transgression for a master of a family to instruct his family himself, or for others to do it for him, but an important and incumbent duty upon them to pray with and for their families, to advise, instruct and admonish every member thereof for their good; this being a command of the Lord, disobedience thereunto will provoke his displeasure.

This apology, weighty in itself, it is presumed had some weight with those to whom it was addressed; as notwithstanding these invidious misrepresentations by the priests and their adherents,

no

CHAP. no severe measures on this account seem to have
 XVII. been adopted till some years after. George Fox
 ~~~~~  
 1671. having spent three months in his gospel labours  
 in this island, visiting and confirming his friends,  
 whose number was now increased by the con-  
 vincement of others, and having settled the  
 meetings to his satisfaction, apprehending him-  
 self clear of his service there, prepared for his  
 departure; having first communicated his pro-  
 spects to his friends, he thought it expedient to  
 acquaint the governor and divers of the council  
 with his intention, that, as his entrance into the  
 island had been open and public, his departure  
 might be so too.

G. Fox  
 passeth to  
 Jamaica.

From Barbadoes he passed over to Jamaica, in  
 company with Robert Widders, William Ed-  
 mundson, Solomon Eccles and Elizabeth Hooton,  
 where they met with a kind reception, being  
 treated with civility both by the governor, ma-  
 gistrates, and the people in general. Their  
 meetings here were large and very quiet, their  
 ministerial labour conducive to the convincement  
 of many, and amongst them some people of ac-  
 count in the world.

About a week after their arrival, Elizabeth  
 Hooton, being far advanced in years, departed  
 this life.

Account of  
 Elizabeth  
 Hooton.

She was a woman religiously inclined in an  
 early stage of life, and one of the first who  
 joined in religious fellowship with George Fox,  
 before the name of *Quaker* was applied to him  
 and his friends. In his early journeys to seek  
 out, and converse with, sober and well-minded  
 people, before he appeared as a public preacher,  
 in the year 1647 he came into Nottinghamshire,  
 where he met with a number of such as he  
 desired



desired to visit, and had some serious conferences with them upon religious subjects; amongst them was Elizabeth Hooton, who was then convinced by his doctrine, of the sufficiency of the light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world; and by an inward attention to this monitor in her own breast (by Divine aid) she experienced the work of conversion and sanctification begun and advanced in her heart, whereby she was prepared for the reception of spiritual gifts. In the year 1650 she received a gift in the ministry, being reputed to be the first minister of her sex in this society<sup>a</sup>, but not the first in the Christian church: For beside those in the primitive age of christianity, mentioned by the apostle Paul as his fellow helpers and labourers in the Lord, according to William Sewel, there are more modern accounts, “that among other persuasions in London there were also women who did preach, and were heard with great satisfaction.” As Elizabeth Hooton was one of the earliest believers in, and one of the earliest preachers up of, the light of Christ in man, while those about this time denominated Quakers were but few, and not, properly speaking, an embodied society, it was not unusual for their preachers, at this time, to attend the public places of worship, and generally, at the close, to seek an opportunity to publish their doctrine there, not having yet established meetings of their own in many places, a custom not peculiar to them, as hath been already shewn<sup>b</sup>; yet for this many of them met with much abuse, and amongst the rest Elizabeth Hooton. She travelled

<sup>a</sup> W. Sewel,<sup>b</sup> See vol. I. p. 86.

CHAP. travelled into many parts of the nation to call  
 xvii. people to repentance, and to take heed to the  
 ~~~~~ convictions of the Divine Light and Grace of  
 God in their own hearts, for which she was
 one of the earliest sufferers among the members
 of this rising society. ° As early as 1651 she
 was imprisoned in Darby upon the complaint
 of a priest, to whom she had spoken by way of
 reproof, who in resentment applied to a justice
 and procured her imprisonment. In the next
 year, 1652, she was again imprisoned at York
 for delivering an exhortation to the congregation
 at Rotheram, at the close of their public wor-
 ship. In 1654 she was on the like account im-
 prisoned five months in Lincoln, and in 1665
 twelve weeks in the same place. In 1660, pas-
 sing quietly along the road, she was met by one
 Jackson, priest of Selston in Nottinghamshire,
 who abused her, struck her repeatedly, knocked
 her down, and afterward put her into the water;
 thus manifesting his malice in the abusive treat-
 ment of an inoffensive female, in a manner dis-
 graceful to his character as a teacher, a christian,
 and a man. The barbarous usage she received in
 New England hath been already related. In all
 her afflictions, through Divine support, she ap-
 pears to have been preserved in patience, and in
 a meek and quiet spirit; but steadfast and im-
 moveable in the truth in which she most surely
 believed. And at last in an advanced age finished
 her life in peace in a foreign land.

° Besse.

C H A P. XVIII.

William Edmundson visits these Islands a second Time.—At Bridgetown a Priest disturbs the Meeting and challenges William Edmundson to a Dispute—In which being foiled the Priest complains to the Governor.—William Edmundson waits upon the Governor, and by his Discourse brings him to moderation.—William Edmundson appears before the Council, where the Priest failing in proof of his Charges meets with merited Reproof.—William Edmundson writes an Epistle to the Governor, &c. against the prevailing Vices of the Island—And their Treatment of the Negro Slaves.—Act passed to prevent the People called Quakers from bringing Negroes to their Meetings, and against their Schoolmasters and Preachers.—Reflections on this Act, and on the Slave Trade.

IN the year 1675, William Edmundson afore-
 said went a second time from Ireland to Barba-
 does, under a renewed religious concern to visit
 the meetings of his friends in that island, and in
 other parts of the American plantations, where
 he was gladly received by them, and had many
 favourable opportunities in the exercise of his
 ministry amongst others, the meetings through
 most parts of the island being very large, many
 were convinced of the truth, and the hearts of
 friends enlarged in love to receive his testimony
 and

C H A P.
XVIII.

1675.

William
Edmundson
visits these
islands a se-
cond time.

CHAP. and instructions both in doctrine and discipline.
XVIII.

1675. He had a meeting at the house of Tobias Fryer, a man of great substance, repute and authority, in commission of the peace, whose wife was one of the society of Quakers, so called; the meeting was crowded, and amongst the rest the priest of the parish, whose name was Ramsey, attended at it. After meeting many of the auditors expressed their satisfaction, only the priest seemed disturbed, yet made no public opposition there; but afterwards at a meeting at Bridgetown, to which he came attended by a company of rude people in order to make a disturbance, he reviled friends with abusive language, calling them *heretics*, *blasphemers* and *traitors*, and challenged William Edmundson to a public disputation, in which he threatened to prove the charge. This challenge being accepted, the rumour thereof drew together abundance of people of all ranks, by computation 3000 or upwards; the assembly was accommodated under shades without doors: But the priest, instead of making good his former charges, broke out in railing accusations, sometimes against particular friends, sometimes against the society in general, advancing many invidious charges, but proving none, whereby he disgusted the judicious part of the auditory, manifested his own folly, and furnished William Edmundson and his friends (who kept cool in their minds) with an opportunity of explaining their principles to the general information and satisfaction of the large number of people assembled upon the occasion.

At Bridge-
town a
priest dis-
turbs the
meeting and
challenges
W Ed-
mundson to
a public
dispute.

Disappointed

Disappointed of his aim, but persevering in his enmity, this priest next applied to the governor, Sir Jonathan Atkins, with a complaint against William Edmundson, that he was a Jesuit from Ireland under the appearance of a Quaker, and pretending to make the Negroes Christians, *would make them rebels, and rise and cut their throats.* The governor, upon this false information, was determined to issue his warrant to apprehend William Edmundson, who coming to the knowledge thereof, anticipated the execution by a voluntary visit to the governor.

1675.

The priest being foiled applies to the governor with a complaint against W. Edmundson.

The governor, when he found who his visitant was, fell into a passion, menaced him greatly, that he would take a course with him, and sent his man for the marshal; but before the marshal came they entered into a conversation, in the course of which the governor acquainted William Edmundson with the information he had received, that under pretence of making the Negroes Christians, he was teaching them to rebel and cut their throats. To which William replied, that it was a good work to bring them to the knowledge of God and Christ Jesus, and to believe in him that died for them and for all men, which would keep them from rebelling or cutting any man's throat; but if they should rebel and cut their throats, as was said, it would not be in consequence of his doctrine, but of their treatment, keeping them in ignorance and under oppression, giving them liberty to be common with women, like brutes; and on the other hand, starving them for want of food and raiment convenient for them: Thus allowing them liberty in that which God restrained, and restraining them in that which God allowed and afforded

W. Edmundson visits the governor, and in a conference moderates him.

CHAP. afforded to men, meat and clothes. After some
XVIII. time the governor grew very moderate.


1675. The marshal coming, desired to know his
pleasure. The governor told him he had thought
to have committed William Edmundson to pri-
son, but his mind was altered; so ordering him
to appear before the council next day, he dis-
missed him for that time. Next day he appear-
ed before the council, and his accuser Ramsey,
appeared also, and renewed his accusations
against William Edmundson and his friends, of
heresy, blasphemy, and treason, alleging that he
would prove his charge out of Edward Bur-
rough's book. The book was brought, the
priest toiled and turned it over and over again,
but could find nothing there to answer his pur-
pose; whereupon he met with merited rebuke
from the governor, and general displeasure from
the council, for advancing such gross charges
against a body of people without foundation.
The priest, as abject as he was envious, fell
on his knees to ask their forgiveness, and from
that time the governor behaved with kindness
during William's stay there.

W. Ed-
mundson
app rs be-
fore the
council,

where the
priests fail-
ing in proof
of his
charges
meets with
merited re-
proof.

Writes an
epistle to
the gover-
nor, &c
against the
prevailing
vices of the
island,

William Edmundson spent five months in his
religious labours in this island, in which, being
a man of fortitude, by conscious integrity raised
above the fear of man, and actuated by an honest
zeal for promoting the cause of pure religion
and discouraging vice, he was a faithful re-
prover of the immoralities and vicious practices
abounding among the inhabitants, and con-
cluded his labours amongst them by an epistle
addressed to the governor, council, and all
others in authority in the island of Barbadoes,
in which, after a recital of the various vices and
immoralities

immoralities which blemished the island, as CHAP. swearing, drunkenness, pride, oppression and XVIII. uncleanness; and pointing out from scripture  1675. that general depravity frequently draws down the symptoms of Divine displeasure in inflicting signal calamities upon guilty places and nations, as upon the old world, Gen. vi. 2, *for taking wives of all that they chose*; and upon Sodom for the pollution and unrestrained lust of its inhabitants: He closely presses them to use the power in their hands to put a stop to the current of wickedness and uncleanness which had over-run the island and cried for vengeance; in particular, the promiscuous commerce of the sexes among the Negroes, connived at or rather encouraged from motives of interest, appears to him a sin of complicated enormity, shocking to every sentiment of chastity and decency, disgraceful to humanity, and a violation of every law, moral and divine.

and their
treatment
of their Negro
slaves.

He therefore strenuously urges them to exert their authority for restraining and suppressing this licentiousness and offensive liberty among their negro slaves, and not only to break the bonds of iniquity, but to remove the yoke of oppression from off their necks; to moderate their labour, treat them with humanity, and allow them a comfortable sufficiency of food and raiment. That as the beneficent creator of the world hath filled the earth plenty, and provided a sufficiency for food and raiment for all the inhabitants thereof, for a part of the human race to be deprived of necessaries, which they fully earn by their labour, in order that their superiors may more freely riot in all the superfluities of luxury, can never be vindicated or answered

C A A P. answered for to the Lord, to whom the earth
 XVIII. belongs, and the fulness thereof.

~~~~~  
 1675. He concludes his said epistle in these plain  
 and honest terms: " You have power, if you  
 " make the right use of it, to rectify these  
 " abuses, if the inclination of your hearts be  
 " to the Lord; or otherwise he will find a way  
 " to purge the land of her wickedness and her  
 " filthy abominations; and in that day remem-  
 " ber you are warned by one, that wishes well  
 " to the island, and stability to her govern-  
 " ment.

" W. EDMUNDSON.

" 21, 12<sup>mo</sup>, 1675."

W. Ed-  
 mundson  
 departs for  
 New Eng-  
 land.

Although the rulers to whom this epistle was  
 addressed, convicted, doubtless, in their con-  
 sciences that the state of their island gave just  
 occasion for the close and poignant reprehensions  
 contained therein, appear not to have expressed  
 any immediate resentment against the author,  
 who soon after took his departure for New-  
 England unmolested; yet in a short time after  
 that, instead of using their authority to suppress  
 the vices remonstrated against, listening more to  
 the calumnies and suggestions of the adversaries,  
 and to the dictates of their own self-interest  
 prompting them to increase the number of their  
 slaves even by wicked means, they resolved to  
 keep such troublesome monitors at a distance,  
 to prevent the preaching up of doctrines they  
 disliked, and to render themselves secure in the  
 continued practice of immoralities they knew to  
 be indefensible; for these purposes, about two  
 months after the date of the aforesaid letter,  
 they



they passed an act to prevent the people called C H A P.  
XVIII.  
Quakers from bringing negroes to their meetings, &c.

The preamble recites, “ that many negroes  
 “ have been suffered to remain in the meetings  
 “ of the Quakers, as hearers of their doctrine,  
 “ and taught in their principles, whereby the  
 “ safety of this island may be much hazarded.”  
 They therefore enact, that if after the publica-  
 tion of the act “ any negro or negroes shall be  
 “ found with the said Quakers at any of their  
 “ said meetings, and as hearers of their preach-  
 “ ing, such negro or negroes shall be forfeited,  
 “ one half to the party who shall seize and sue  
 “ for them, and the other moiety to the public  
 “ use of the island. And if any such negro or  
 “ negroes do not belong to any of the persons  
 “ present at the same meeting, any person may  
 “ bring an action, grounded upon this statute,  
 “ against any person present, at the election of  
 “ the informer, for the sum of 10*l.* sterling for  
 “ every such negro. That no person shall keep  
 “ a school, unless in one month after publication  
 “ such person shall take the oath of allegiance  
 “ and supremacy before some justice of peace,  
 “ or obtain a special license from the governor  
 “ for the time being, under the penalty of three  
 “ months imprisonment, and a forfeiture of  
 “ three thousand pounds of Muscovado sugar.  
 “ That no person or persons whatsoever, that is  
 “ not an inhabitant and resident in this island,  
 “ and hath been so for twelve months together,  
 “ shall hereafter publicly discourse or preach at  
 “ the meetings of the Quakers, upon the penalty  
 “ of six months imprisonment, and shall forfeit  
 “ ten thousand pounds of Muscovado sugar, to

1675.  
Act passed  
to prevent  
the people  
called Qua-  
kers from  
bringing  
negroes to  
their meet-  
ings.  
  
Penalty up-  
on school-  
masters, &c.  
  
Also upon  
preachers.

VOL. III. E “ be

CHAP. " be recovered and divided in manner afore-  
 XVIII. " said."

1675.

By this act several of the said people were great sufferers; but the attempt made on Ralph Fretwell aforesaid, and Richard Sutton, exceeded all reasonable bounds, the former being informed against and prosecuted by one Thomas Cobham for the sum of 800*l.* for eighty negroes, and the latter for thirty negroes being present at a meeting; but the defendants in this cause made their defence so well, that notwithstanding the act, the jury weighing all the circumstances of the matter, acquitted them, to the disappointment of their enemies.

The penalty  
 extended to  
 inhabitants.

Three years afterwards, in the year 1678, this act was extended to include the inhabitants of the island, under the penalty before enacted, for preaching at any of the meetings of the people called Quakers, whereby all preaching in the public assemblies of the said people was prohibited under the severe penalties of fines and imprisonment.

Now it will be no difficult matter for unprejudiced reason to determine, whether these ministers of the people called Quakers, objects of contempt and aversion with many of those, who pride themselves upon their refined reason, and their superiority of understanding; or the legislature of this island, who from their rank in life were probably in estimation for wisdom and honour, acted most consistently with the principles of religion, humanity and moral justice.

After the foregoing narrative of the tendency of the labours of these ministers with the negro slaves in this island, the preamble of this act, insinuating apprehension of danger to the safety  
 of

of the island, must appear nothing more than a mere pretence. The priests, as we have seen, alarmed at the success of the ministry of these friends, spread jealousies of them upon groundless suggestions, and after their customary manner in that age, endeavoured to excite the secular power against them, and at length seem to have succeeded. This act therefore appears to me the result of clerical jealousy, joined to national prejudice, under the bias of an irrational and unjust policy, which made them averse to every measure, which might conduce to let in any degree of light into the darkened minds of their slaves, absurdly imagining, that the nearer they were kept to the state of brutes, the more safely they might treat them as such.

But what shall we think of the christianity of these islanders, who yet laid claim to the name of christians and protestants, to make it penal for honest men, sincerely employed in the discharge of religious duties, to instruct these poor heathens, members of their own families or others, in the nature of religion and morality, to give them some notions of a supreme Being, and exhort them to live in his fear, and bring them into the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments. To make such laudable endeavours penal by a public act of state argues a general depravity of sentiment, disgraceful to any people, and as irreconcilable to sound policy, as to the nature and doctrines of the gospel.

The discovery of America engaged several nations of Europe to send out colonies to possess and cultivate many of the parts to which they respectively laid claim, not only to the continent, but to

CHAP. the West Indian islands. This island of Barba-  
 XVIII. does was early resorted to by several adventurers  
 1675. from England<sup>a</sup>, who upon their landing found  
 it a desert waste, without the least sign of hav-  
 ing ever been inhabited; and being, as well as  
 the other colonies and islands, over-run with  
 wood, consisting of trees very large, hard and  
 stubborn, put the emigrants to great labour and  
 difficulty to clear as much ground as was ne-  
 cessary for their subsistence. This laborious  
 clearing and cultivating of their lands being re-  
 quisite, in a good degree, for their support, and  
 in a greater degree for acquiring property and  
 raising estates, occasioned a great call from the  
 planters for assistants of ability to labour, and  
 afterwards gave rise to a very iniquitous traf-  
 fic, a traffic in the human species, wherein the  
 laws of nature and humanity, much more, the  
 more sacred laws of religion and christianity,  
 were most enormously violated, both by the Eu-  
 ropeans and Americans.

The former sent their ships to the coast of  
 Africa to take away such of the natives as  
 they could purchase, captives taken in war,  
 whereby they fomented wars and bloodshed  
 amongst the natives, or frequently such as they  
 could trepan, take by surprize or steal\*, inhu-  
 manly

<sup>a</sup> Guthrie.

\* A negro residing near Philadelphia from his first arrival  
 appearing thoughtful and dejected, frequently dropping tears  
 when fondling his master's children, it incited a curiosity in  
 those who observed him to know the cause, which, when he  
 had got English enough to make himself understood, he let  
 them know in the following moving relation:—That he had  
 a wife and children in his own country; that some of these  
 being



manly regardless of the pain they suffered in being violently torn away from their parents, their wives, their families, their natural connections, and all that they held dear in life; who, though termed savages, yet many of them appear more susceptible of the feelings of men than their more savage captors, who must be dead to all the tender feelings of the human heart, before they could be concerned in a traffic so disgraceful to civilization, and rendering the name of christian odious to infidels.

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1675.

— Quid non mortalia pectora cogis  
Auri sacra fames —.

O cursed hunger of pernicious gold,  
What bands of faith can impious lucre hold.

As they were thus purchased or kidnapped, they were hurried on board the ship in waiting to carry off their human cargo, until they procured their complement. On shipboard, without regard to health or decency, hundreds being confined together within the narrow limits of the hold, were liable to contract distempers, which put a period to the sorrows of many of them

being sick, he went in the night-time to fetch water from a spring, where he was violently seized and carried off by persons, who were lying in wait to surprize and seize such of the inhabitants as might fall in their way, and thence was transported to America; that in remembrance of his family and friends, whom he never expected to see any more, he could not help giving vent to the anguish of his heart, by dropping a tear to their memory. Now can any man, whose mind is not rendered quite obdurate by the practice of oppression, or love of gain, hear this relation without commiserating sympathy and a participation of his sorrow? And doubtless the cases of many of these oppressed people will be found to be attended with circumstances equally cruel and aggravating.

C A A P. them by a premature death; many others found  
 XVIII. a release from the accumulated sufferings which  
 1675. awaited the less happy survivors, by the seasoning in the islands, as it is termed.

When landed they were exposed naked to sale<sup>b</sup>, like beasts of burden, and being sold to the highest bidder, branded with an hot iron, as the property of the purchaser, a property which God or nature never gave the seller, which therefore he had no right to transfer, and of consequence could convey to the purchaser no right over them, but what himself had, that is, none at all.

But arbitrary custom and unequal laws gave a power over them to the purchaser, who generally considered this as a right of property, and often used his power over them, or his overseer for him, with unfeeling barbarity, keeping them to excessive labour with the lash over their backs, which was exercised without mercy, allowing them at the same time neither proper food nor clothing; while these slave owners, many of them, supported the state and luxury of princes by the labour of those miserable men; and by them their children being waited upon with the most abject homage, were corrupted in their early years with intolerable pride and cruelty, and inured to look upon their slaves as beings of a different species, and by these means prepared to perpetuate their bondage and their afflictions.

From this view of the slave trade, of the treatment of those slaves, and the use those islanders found them of to support themselves in ease

<sup>b</sup> Abbe Reynal, vol. iv. p. 111.

ease and grandeur, it is not difficult to discover from what principle the aforesaid act against the Quakers originated; a mean and selfish jealousy, lest their minds being in any degree or by any means enlightened, might attain a clearer knowledge of their rights as men, which they were very desirous to prevent, as thinking it more conducive to their interested views, that they should continue in their native ignorance of moral and religious truth. Tyranny to pagans and savages loseth much of that abhorrence, through the prejudice of custom, which it might be productive of, if exercised upon any under the christian name, and therefore they chose rather, they should continue pagans to be treated as brutes, than to be converted to christianity, and to be treated like men.

I esteem it no inconsiderable credit to these pious and worthy men, that, from a lively sympathy with their grievous sufferings, they exerted their religious labours in favour of this grossly abused part of the human species, at a time when the rights of human nature were not so clearly understood; when habitual tyranny and general usage had given a kind of sanction to the commerce in slaves, when few pleaded their cause, but most, in palliation of their treatment, looked upon and represented them as beings of an inferior order.

CHAP.  
XVIII.  
1675.

## C H A P. XIX.

## NEW JERSEY, &amp;c.

*The Discovery of the Continent of North America.—The Dutch and Swedes the first Settlers.—King Charles II. dispossesses the Dutch, and gives the Country to his Brother the Duke of York, from whom it is named New-York.—Some of the People called Quakers migrate to America.—John Burnyeat pays a religious Visit to his Friends on that Continent.—Thomas Thurston, a Ranter, gives Friends in Maryland much Trouble.—John Burnyeat's Care and Endeavours to manifest his Unsoundness.—In Virginia several, drawn aside by John Perrot's Notions, forsake me etingtogether for Worship.—John Burnyeat with much Solicitation gets a Meeting among them—Which proves of Service.*

C H A P. XIX. THE success of Columbus and Americus Vesputius in discovering the Caribbee Islands, and the continent of South America, diffused a spirit of adventure in search of further discoveries of the Western Continent. Sebastian Cabot, an Englishman of Venetian extraction, an expert navigator, was the next adventurer, who under the patronage of Henry VII. sailed in quest of a north-



a north-west passage to the East Indies, and fell in with the continent of North America, to which country the English, as the first discoverers, laid claim; but they made no attempts to settle in it, till Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of extraordinary genius, planted a colony in the southern part, which he called Virginia, in honour of his mistress queen Elizabeth.

CHAP.

XIX.

But the first attempts to settle colonies in this country proving unsuccessful, damped the spirit of emigration for some time. In 1606, king James I. granted a new patent of Virginia, under which denomination, beside the country now distinguished by that name, the Provinces of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, were included.

In the interval between the discovery of the middle part of this continent, and the actual possession thereof by any colony from England, Henry Hudson, an Englishman by birth, but in the service or employ of the Dutch East India Company, sailing also in quest of a northern passage to China, and being disappointed in the principal purpose of his voyage; coasted along the northern shore of America in search of some discovery, whereby his employers might in some measure be indemnified for the expenses of his fruitless attempt to find out the passage desired: After sailing up the river to which he gave his own name, and reconnoitring the coast and its inhabitants, he returned to Amsterdam from whence he sailed.

The Dutch nation, in consequence of this discovery, laid claim to this part of the continent, and the court of England maintained their claim

The Dutch  
at wedes  
the first set-  
ters.

to

C H A P. to the same, upon the plea that Cabot first discovered it for them. However, the Dutch sent a colony hither, who gave to the country the name of New Belgia. The succeeding disturbances and civil wars in England, between Charles I. and his parliament, furnished them time to settle without molestation, and to build forts for their defence, and a town on the island of Mahattos, to which they gave the name of New Amsterdam. Some time after them another colony emigrated from Sweden, and settled in a part of this country. So the Dutch and Swedes appear to be the first Europeans who formed settlements in this part of America, and remained there unmolested, until king Charles II. in 1665, sending out a squadron with a considerable body of land forces, dispossessed them, and gave this country to his brother the Duke of York, from whom both the town of New Amsterdam and the province of Nova Belgia received the name of New York. The Duke of York also, in 1669, granted a part of this territory to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, ordering it to be called Nova Cæsaria or New Jersey.

King Charles dispossesseth the Dutch and gives the country to his brother.

Some of the people called Quakers emigrate to America.

This country as well as Virginia being thus settled, many years previous to the grant made to William Penn, some of the people called Quakers had migrated to both these colonies, sometime before Pennsylvania was inhabited by any Europeans<sup>d</sup>. Previous to the year 1665, when it first fell under the government of England, some of this people had removed to settle at Middletown and other places in East Jersey. And in that year the first ship arrived, which brought any

<sup>d</sup> Samuel Smith.

any of them to the western division; the passengers were landed at Salem, where many of them took up their residence. In the year 1677 others followed, and settled at Burlington and Gloucester. After these a succession of new settlers increased the number of this people considerably; so that in the Jerseys, as well as in Virginia, Maryland and New England, there were many settlements of them before William Penn obtained his grant of Pennsylvania.

C H A P.  
XIX.  
1665.

In the year 1665 John Burnyeat, after his service in Barbadoes was finished, took shipping for these parts of America, and landed in Maryland in the second month, and spent the summer in travelling, in the exercise of his gift in the ministry, amongst his friends and others in this province. The meetings were large and much favoured<sup>c</sup>; friends were greatly comforted, and several others convinced. But in this place, friends met with great trouble from one Thomas Thurston, and a party which he drew for a while after him. This man seems to have been tainted with a spirit of ranterism, although professing himself of this society; in his conversation loose and disorderly, his conduct scandalized his profession; in his disposition perverse and self-willed, he gave great disturbance to their meetings by public opposition and bitter contention; and yet disqualified as he was, he wanted to be the leader of a people, and some were so weak as to be betrayed by him to their hurt. John Burnyeat, from a zealous concern to remove occasion of offence through his evil conduct, to rescue the simple from the snare of his deceptive insinuations,

John Burnyeat visits his friends on the American continent.

T. Thurston creates much trouble.

CHAP. ons, and to restore peace and order to the public assemblies of his friends, took much pains, in concert with faithful friends of the province, to detect the man's conduct, by searching out matters of fact, and to convince the understandings of his followers of the error of his principles, and unsoundness of his heart; and through divine assistance they were so successful, that by their endeavours most of the people came to see the man, to forsake him, and to return into unity with their friends. But Thurston lost himself as to religion, and declined in his outward circumstances.

J. Burnyeat's care to manifest the man, &c.

In Virginia several, drawn aside by J. Perrot's notions, forsake their meetings.

John Burnyeat having spent the summer in settling his friends in peace, and in a good degree restoring order amongst them, departed from Maryland to Virginia, and found sufficient employment there for a considerable part of the succeeding winter. For here, as well as in Barbadoes, he found many of the professors of truth, even the greater part of them, led away by the fanciful opinions of John Perrot, who carried his erroneous and extravagant notion of being got above forms, much farther than he had done in England; for here civil government and religious order being more unsettled, gave him an opportunity of carrying his witnesses to a greater extreme, and propagating them with less restraint or discouragement, leading his bewildered followers into undue liberties, inconsistent with the strictness of their profession, or of good report with any religious or sober people; for they had almost entirely forsaken their meeting for divine worship, scarcely assembling together once a year, looking upon it as a form; much less, it is to be presumed, would they assemble



semble with any other people, who were still more in the form. Of consequence the reasonable and profitable duty of public united worship being neglected, they lost ground in religion, and the effects of backsliding manifested their loss, for they had laid aside the form, appearance and plainness of their profession in dress and language; and were become loose and irreligious in their conduct, equally with those who made little profession of religion; shunning the cross to evade suffering; and preferring outward ease to the testimony of a conscience void of offence towards God and man; which they had been zealously concerned to preserve by a diligence in keeping up their meetings, through great sufferings, till this man came amongst them, and beguiled them from the simplicity of truth into a fleshly liberty, whereby the offence of the cross ceased, and the power of godliness (with the form) was lost. So that when John Burnyeat came thither he found it difficult to get a meeting amongst them. But in him we have a fresh instance of the lively zeal, diligence and earnestness of engagement with which these primitive promulgators of religious truth were actuated in the discharge of duty. For when he saw their reluctance to give him a public meeting, he did not leave them under their delusion, but sought private opportunities of treating with them, to convince them of their mistakes, to vindicate the principles of the society, the consistency of their testimony, and rectitude of practice proceeding therefrom, both in their diligent meeting to worship God, walking in all orderly conversation, sobriety and temperance, as in his sight, and fulfilling their social

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1665.

J. Burnyeat  
with much  
solicitation  
gets a meet-  
ing amongst  
them,

C H A P. cial and moral duties to mankind. By patient continuance in repeated visits and conferences of this kind he at length obtained a meeting with them, which, being favoured with the overshadowing of divine power, seems to have been very conducive to open the understandings of several to see their error more clearly, and to the revival of more regard to their religious duties; and by the continuance of his gospel labours, and the renewed convictions of the spirit of truth in their own hearts, many came in time to see through the wiles of the enemy, and to be again serviceable members of religious society.

XIX.

1665.

which is  
conducive  
to the be-  
nefit of  
many.

He afterwards travelled a while longer in these provinces, and from thence into New England, Long Island and Rhode Island; and about the latter end of 1st month, 1667, took shipping for Barbadoes, where he spent some time, had many large meetings to edification, wherein several were convinced; and when his service was finished there, he returned to England.

C H A P.

## C H A P. XX.

*John Burnyeat pays a second Visit to America in company with William Simpson, who dies soon after their arrival.—Half-year's Meeting at Oyster-bay—Disturbed by the Opposition of some disorderly Persons, who read a Manuscript they had drawn up.—John Burnyeat opposes their Cavils, and vindicates his Friends.—John Burnyeat embarks for Maryland, and thence to Virginia, where he proposeth the establishing a Men's Meeting of Discipline.—General Meeting at West River, to which came George Fox and others.—They are in danger passing through the Gulf of Florida.—George Fox explains the Benefit of Meetings of Discipline.—General Meeting at Cliffs.*

SOON after the yearly meeting in London in 1670, John Burnyeat, in company with William Simpson, took shipping a second time for the American plantations; and after a passage of twelve weeks landed at Barbadoes, where William Simpson, an innocent humble man, who like the rest of his brethren had suffered much persecution, was soon taken off by a fever, which was a near trial to his companion, (they having walked together in near unity and brotherly affection) to be left alone in a foreign land, under the discouraging prospect of many difficulties and disagreeable occurrences to encounter, considering the state of the church in that

C H A P.

XX.

1670.

John Burnyeat pays a second visit to his friends in America, in company with W. Simpson, who dies soon after their landing in Barbadoes.

C H A P. that Island; but he writes, the Lord was with  
 XX. him, and by his power and good spirit assisted  
 1670. him to discharge his duty fully, so that he left  
 that island in peace, under the sense thereof<sup>f</sup>.

Half year's  
 meeting at  
 Oyster Bay

disturbed by  
 the opposi-  
 tion of some  
 disorderly  
 professors.

From Barbadoes he took shipping for New York, where he arrived in about four weeks; from thence he travelled through Long Island, Rhode Island, and sundry other parts of New England, and in his return came to Middletown in East Jersey, where he had some meetings among friends settled there; and from thence he returned to Oyster-bay in Long Island, to the half-year's meeting, which began about the 8th day of the 8th month. It appears to have been held to general edification and comfort, through the meetings for worship. After them the meeting for discipline, which was gathered in much quietness and agreeable harmony, was disturbed by some disorderly professors, who had imbibed a prejudice against discipline, and enmity against those friends who were zealous for the establishment thereof, for the purpose of preserving good order, and keeping the reputation of the society unblemished. For it seems the spirit of opposition, which had given friends in England much trouble, had spread to these remote regions; and notwithstanding the plausible pretexts with which the dissent was covered over, it appears to me to have originated in unstable minds, from a desire of taking liberties not allowed by, but inconsistent with, the profession of godliness in some, and of evading the heavy sufferings to which the society was at this time exposed;



posed; and as the prosecutions at home had driven many of other societies of dissenters to seek an asylum in this quarter of the globe, so it is not improbable but some of those who had been infected with John Perrot's notions, had from the like motive removed beyond the reach of persecution, and disseminated their principles of dissent and opposition to good order here. They directed the efforts of their envy and bitterness as they had done in England, principally against George Fox and his epistles of salutary advice, against which they had drawn up a book in manuscript, which they demanded to have read in the meeting. They were told the epistles and papers were there, and they might make their objections, which friends would endeavour to answer; but this proposal not satisfying them, and persisting in their purpose of reading their book, the meeting gave way, and sat in silent attention till they had gone through it, and then John Burnyeat recapitulating the principal parts thereof, vindicated George Fox and his friends in the purity of their intentions, and religious care for the welfare of the society in promoting men's and women's meetings for discipline, by explaining the benefit and advantage thereof to the society at large, and to the individual members thereof; refuting and reproving their slanders and falsehoods, whereby they had hurt the minds of several young and newly-convinced friends; and placing facts that had been misrepresented in a true light, he gave great satisfaction to friends in general, and brought them to a perception of the mistaken notions they had let into their minds, through the insinuations

CHAP.

XX.

1670.

They force the reading a manuscript they had drawn up upon the meeting.

J. Burnyeat opposes their cavils, and vindicates his friends.

CHAP. <sup>xx.</sup> <sub>1671.</sub> nuations of one George Dennis and two others, who were chiefly concerned in writing the book, and in the opposition. And after this seasonable interposition for the information and reconciliation of friends, the meeting settled down in harmony, and was conducted and concluded to mutual satisfaction and edification. After all the meetings were over, friends comforted, the opposers refuted, the simple-hearted who had been guiled by them rescued from their snares, and peace and order restored, John Burnyeat proceeded in his travels by Flushing and Gravesend to New York, from whence he embarked for Maryland, being accompanied by Daniel Gould from Rhode Island. From Maryland they proceeded to Virginia, where John had the consolation to observe the good effects of his former labour and service in that province, finding friends in general revived into a good degree of religious care in their conduct and conversation, a lively zeal for keeping up their meetings for worship, and a disposition to receive him and his ministry with ready attention, whereby his meetings with them were to mutual satisfaction and edification.

J. Burnyeat, in company with Daniel Gould, embarks for Maryland, and thence proceeds to Virginia,

where he proposes the establishing a men's meeting of discipline.

Finding them in this agreeable disposition, in order to confirm and strengthen them in it, and for the help of those who were not yet recovered from the effect of John Perrot's infection, he proposed to them the establishing of a men's meeting of discipline, to promote good order amongst them, that might be instrumental to the bringing back those who were yet scattered, to the unity of the body, to exhort the careless and lukewarm professors to religious thought-

thoughtfulness, and to exert their zealous endeavours to preserve the reputation of the society unblemished. CHAP. XX.

<sup>a</sup> Then recommending them to God and the word of his Grace, he took boat again for Maryland, where arriving after a troublesome and tedious passage, after some time spent amongst them, he appointed a general meeting at West River for the friends in the province, that he might see them together before he departed, proposing to take his leave of them, and proceed on his way to return for England. To this meeting came George Fox, William Edmundson, and sundry other friends, whom he had left behind in the West Indies. 1671.

General meeting at West River, to which came G. Fox and others.

These friends sailed from Jamaica for Maryland, and after a tedious and difficult passage, especially in passing through the Gulf of Florida, meeting with country winds and tempestuous weather, they were in great danger; but being mercifully preserved, and the weather growing more temperate, in something more than six weeks they reached the mouth of Potuxan river in the Bay of Chesapeak, where another great storm arising, a boat near them, with several passengers on board, being in great distress, the ship which they were in took in the passengers before the boat was lost. These faithful ministers, ever diligent in propagating the gospel and spreading the truth, not discouraged by perils by sea or perils by land, from a zealous exertion of their ministerial labours on all occasions, confiding in Divine Providence for protection through all proving sea-

G. Fox and company in danger passing the Gulf of Florida.

CHAP. fons, and strengthened and supported by the  
 XX. consciousness of integrity in discharge of duty,  
 1671. took the present opportunity to hold a religious  
 meeting with these new passengers to mutual  
 satisfaction. But their provisions growing short,  
 through the tediousness of their passage, and  
 their having thus got an additional number to  
 feed, without any addition of food, their scanty  
 store was soon consumed. In this exigency  
 George Pattison, at the hazard of his life, took  
 boat, and providentially got safe ashore; and  
 soon after some friends residing in that part of  
 Maryland came aboard, and brought the rest  
 safe to land also, very opportunely, their provi-  
 sions being quite spent.

G. Fox ex-  
 plains the  
 benefit of  
 meetings of  
 discipline.

General  
 meetings at  
 Cliffs.

Soon after their landing they went directly  
 to the general meeting at West River, appoint-  
 ed by John Burnyeat, which afforded them, as  
 well as him, a seasonable opportunity of seeing  
 the friends of the Province together. The  
 meeting was very large, and held four days,  
 being attended generally by friends, and num-  
 bers of other societies, and several of the prin-  
 cipal rank among them. After the public  
 meetings were over, the men's and women's  
 meetings for discipline succeeded, in which  
 George Fox, with admirable ability and clear-  
 ness, explaining the usefulness and benefit, the  
 end and the manner of holding these meetings.  
 His friends here received his directions with  
 becoming condescension and cordial satisfaction,  
 and the meeting being ended, friends separated  
 under a sense of divine favour. After this the  
 travellers went together to another general meet-  
 ing appointed at the Cliffs, which was also large,  
 and the people attended reverently to the doc-  
 trines



trines delivered there. They had also a general C H A P. meeting for discipline, at which the several par- xx. ticular meetings of discipline were established; and most of those who had apostatized with Thurston, and remained unreconciled, returned into unity with their friends. 1672.

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## C H A P. XXI.

*European Friends part company.—William Edmundson goes to Virginia.—Thence through the Wilderness to Carolina.—Returns to Virginia to a Men's Meeting appointed there.—Friends here agree to the Establishment of Discipline.—William Edmundson passeth on to New York, and hath a Meeting there at an Inn.*

AFTER these two general meetings the friends C H A P. from Europe parted company, dividing them- xxI. selves upon their respective services. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea to New England; George Fox, John Burnyeat, Robert Widders and George Pattison toward Jersey, and William Edmundson for Virginia. Here William, as John Burnyeat had done before him, found sundry disorders yet unremoved. He had several edifying meetings amongst them, whereby having brought them to a better temper, and cultivated a friendly disposition in their minds, he appointed a men's meeting, for the settling of an orderly discipline

1672.  
European  
friends part  
company.

W. Ed-  
mundson  
goes to Vi-  
ginia,

CHAP. pline amongst them, after the model of that  
 XXI. established in England and Ireland. From hence  
 he travelled to Carolina, through a desolate uninhabited wilderness; he and his guides passed two nights in the woods, in the latter of which he could not lie down, it rained so violently, the ground wet, and himself wet to the skin, so that he passed the night partly under a tree for shelter, and partly walking between the trees; added to this uncommodious circumstance, his guide was uncertain about the way, but William, having the day before advanced farther in the woods than his guides, who were tired and faint, had discovered a path, to which he leading the way, it took them to Henry Philips's house by Albemarle river, the place of their designation.

1672.  
 thence  
 through the  
 Wilderness  
 to Carolina.

<sup>b</sup> His host and hostess, who had been convinced in New England, and removed their residence hither, received him and his company with remarkable gladness, not having seen the face of a friend for many years. It was first-day morning, but William being weary and faint with fasting and travelling, found it requisite to take some rest, he therefore appointed a meeting about the middle of the day, to which many people came, but, as is too much the case in these desert countries, they seemed to have little sense of religion amongst them, for they sat down in the meeting smoking tobacco; notwithstanding which, William's testimony, in the authority of the gospel, had that reach upon them, that they were affected with great

<sup>b</sup> William Edmundson, p. 59.

great seriousness, desired him to stay with them, CHAP.  
and favour them with more meetings.

At this meeting, one Tems, a justice of peace, and his wife, being convinced, desired to have the next meeting at their house, which was accordingly held, and being favoured with divine regard, was conducive to the convincement and edification of several of the auditory.

XXI.  
1672.

Having appointed a men's meeting in Virginia, he was under a necessity of returning thither from this second meeting in Carolina. After a journey of great pain, through sickness contracted by hardships in the wilderness, he reached the men's meeting, where friends readily consented to the establishment of discipline, and desired to have another meeting of the same kind appointed before he left the country, to which agreeing, and in the intermediate time visiting sundry places and meetings to satisfaction, he attended the said men's meeting; previous to which a meeting for worship being held, it was attended by several persons of condition, as Justice Taverner and his wife, who was one of the society, Major-general Bennet, Colonel Teve and others. This meeting proved to general edification, the doctrines of the gospel being delivered with powerful energy, and the hearts of the people affected with religious thoughtfulness. When this meeting was ended, the members of the society withdrew into a large upper room to the men's meeting, to confer upon and settle the affairs of the church. Justice Taverner's wife, who was of the society, informing William that the Major-general and Colonel Teve, and others below, were desirous to speak with him,

Returns to Virginia to a men's meeting appointed there.

Friends here agree to the establishment of discipline.

CHAP. him, he went down; they told him they only  
 XXI. wanted to take leave of him, and acknowledge  
 the truth of his doctrine; whereupon apologiz-  
 1672. ing for friends withdrawing, he told them the  
 reason was, *to lay down a method for providing for  
 their poor widows and fatherless children; to take  
 care that no disorders were committed in the so-  
 ciety, and that all lived orderly, according to what  
 they professed.* That in England and in other  
 places friends had such meetings appointed for  
 the like purposes. This account gained the Ma-  
 jor-general's approbation, he saying he was glad  
 there was such care and order amongst friends,  
 and wished it had been so amongst others.

W. Ed-  
 mundson  
 goeth to  
 New York,  
 and hath a  
 meeting at  
 his inn.

Having thus been instrumental to settle good  
 order in some measure amongst the members of  
 the society in Virginia, he returned through Mary-  
 land to New York. He was very desirous of a  
 religious meeting with the inhabitants of this  
 town, where no meeting of friends had ever been  
 held; and the owner of the inn where he lodged  
 being willing to accommodate him with a large  
 room, the meeting was accordingly held, largely  
 attended, and amongst others by some of the  
 chief officers, magistrates and principal inhabi-  
 tants. They were very solid and attentive to the  
 doctrine he delivered, and affected thereby, which  
 appeared in their affectionate demeanour to him  
 after the meeting was over. From thence he went  
 to Long Island and Shelter Island, where he met  
 with George Fox and his companions on their  
 way from New England to Virginia.



## C H A P. XXII.

*George Fox, &c. go to the Eastern Shore.—Thence by Land through the Wilderness to New England.—Lodge in the House of an Indian King.—Half Year's Meeting in Long Island.—Opposition being expected from a dissatisfied Party, a Day is set apart for hearing them.—Yearly Meeting in Rhode Island held for six Days.—Discipline established.—J. Burnyeat and others go to New England.—Meeting disturbed at Scituate.—Thatcher, Priest at Boston, endeavours to stir up Persecution.—James Lancaster and John Stubbs imprisoned at Boston and banished.—Bellingham, Governor of Massachusetts, dies.—Meet with little Success among some who are drawn aside by J. Perrot.—Dispute with Roger Williams.—William Edmundson embarks for Ireland.*

AFTER their separating in Maryland to their respective services, the last-mentioned friends, viz. George Fox and his companions, went by boat to the Eastern shore, and had a large meeting there, to which, besides many persons of quality of the country, came one of the Indian kings, and some other Indians coming thither, George Fox had two meetings with them in the evening of the same day; they seemed very attentive to his doctrine, and owned it to be truth. Then he desired that what he had spoken to them, that they would speak to their people, and make them acquainted that God by his witness in their hearts

C H A P.  
XXII.

1672.

G. Fox, &c.  
go to the  
Eastern  
shore.

CHAP. hearts was willing to make himself known in  
 XXII. their wilderness country, and set up his glorious  
 ~~~~~ ensign of righteousness amongst them.

1672.

Go by land
 through the
 wilderness
 to New
 England.

Lodged in
 the house
 of an Indian
 king.

From hence they took their journey by land for New England, which at that time was an undertaking of great peril and difficulty, most of the intermediate country being a dreary uninhabited wilderness, intersected by large and deep rivers, some of which they headed, others they passed in canoes, swimming their horses by the sides; sometimes they were under a difficulty to procure Indian guides, and the Dutchman whom they had hired was not willing to undertake the guidance without an Indian; they lodged some nights in the woods, some in the Indian wigwams. In some whole day's journies they saw no human creature besides their own company, not an house or dwelling-place in the way. One night reaching an Indian town, they lodged at the king's house or wigwam, who entertained them with affectionate kindness, and his attendants were assiduously respectful to them; they fared and lodged as well as himself, but provisions were scantily afforded them, not for want of hospitality, but because he had been unsuccessful in the chase and caught little or nothing that day. They lay on mats on the ground, with blocks of wood or such like for their pillows. In nine days they reached Middletown in East Jersey, where was a plantation of English, and amongst them some of the people called Quakers. After a short stay at the house of Richard Hartshorn, a man of an hospitable, benevolent and honourable character, who had lately removed from London, they were by him carried over in his

his boat to Long Island, whither they were hastening to the half year's meeting to be held at Oyster Bay for that island and the province of New York. The said half year's meeting began the fourth day after their arrival, and lasted four days. The two first days were employed in holding public meetings for worship; the third day was allotted for holding the men's and women's meetings for the needful care of the affairs of the church.

CHAP.

XXII.

1672.

Half-year's
meeting in
Long Island.

As opposition was expected from these prejudiced and contentious spirits, who had disturbed the last half year's meeting there, George Fox did not think it proper that the service of the men's and women's meetings should be interrupted by their cavils; but let them know, that if they had any objection to make to the discipline of the society, a meeting should be appointed for the purpose; the fourth day was therefore set apart for this business, open to as many of the opponents as chose to attend it, and to friends likewise; but those of the prejudiced party, who had been so free in their reflections upon George Fox when remote from them, began now to fawn upon him, and cast the blame upon others, particularly George Dennis endeavoured to exculpate himself; but John Burnyeat, who had been witness to his conduct at the last half year's meeting as well as this, proved evidently that he was the principal actor and instigator in the opposition to the good order of the society, and in reading their book of reflections thereupon, and upon George Fox as the founder thereof, whereby his deceitfulness being made manifest, he and his party were confounded and foiled to that degree, that their attempts

Opposition
being expected from
G. Dennis
and his
party, a day
is set apart
for hearing
them.

CHAP. tempts to disturb the peace of the society were
XXII. entirely frustrated.

1672. After some little time spent in Long Island
Yearly meeting in Rhode- in the work of the ministry, these European
Island held for six days. friends took shipping for Rhode Island to attend
the yearly meeting to be held there for the pro-
vince of New England, where they met with
John Stubbs, just arrived from Barbadoes, and
James Lancaster and John Cartwright from New
England, with a number of friends from dif-
ferent parts of the province. This yearly meet-
ing was continued by adjournments for six days
succesively; the first four were employed in
public meetings of worship, to which the go-
vernor and several justices giving daily attend-
ance, their countenance, drew abundance of
people from all parts of the island, amongst
whom these friends found an open reception
for their ministry: For this large auditory
behaved in a manner remarkably solid, be-
coming the solemnity of the occasion, hearing
the doctrines of truth with diligent attention,
and regarding the promulgators thereof with
cordial affection during these four days; the fifth
Discipline was appointed for holding the men's meeting,
established. and the sixth for the women's meeting, which
were both large, solemn, instructive, and bene-
ficially conducive to the end of the appointment.
Many important remarks being made upon the
use and intent of meetings of discipline in gene-
ral, the several particular men's and women's
meetings, to be held in the different parts of the
province constituting this yearly meeting, were
agreed upon and fixed, to take care of the poor
and other general concerns of the church, that
the members of the church might not blemish
the

the truth they professed by a life and conversation inconsistent with the principles thereof, but by the purity of their manners and integrity of their lives, might be of a good favour among their neighbours, blameless and harmless, without rebuke.

CHAP.

XXII.

1672.

During their stay on the island, a marriage was solemnized between two of the people called Quakers at a house of a friend who had formerly been governor thereof. Some justices and many others, as well as friends, attended, who all confessed they never saw such solemnity on such an occasion, so solemn a marriage, and such decency of order.

George Fox and Robert Widders stayed yet longer in the island; but John Burnyeat, John Cartwright and George Pattison went to the eastern parts of New England, in company with the friends from thence. Their first meetings were at Marshfield, Sandwich and Scituate, to advantage and consolation. As John Burnyeat was in the exercise of his ministry at Scituate, some of the elders of the independent church came to the meeting, which was held in an orchard, and was very large, and made opposition to him; but the people being much displeased at the interruption, desired them to be still till they had done, upon which they went away to their own worship, and after it was over returned to hold a disputation with these friends, in which directing their endeavours to make the Quakers appear in the eyes of the auditory as a people under delusion and error, John Burnyeat proposed to them, that since they represented him and his friends as *heretics* and their own church as a true church, that they should try both

J. Burnyeat and others go to New-England.

Meeting disturbed at Scituate.

CHAP. both by the criterion laid down by Christ him-
 XXII. self, that is, by fruits; and although they were
 1672. averse to close in with the proposal, he proceeded
 to recount the fruits of their church, viz. fining and distraining for not attending their worship, imprisonings, cruel whippings, cutting off ears, burning in the hand, banishing and putting to death, only upon account of religion; if they could prove these to be the fruits of a true Christian church, they were to be owned as such; but if not, they were to be denied. These elders could not relish this kind of argument, having some of them, as he was informed, been themselves active in persecution, and therefore put an end to this discourse upon a disagreeable subject by withdrawing.

The violence of persecution was by this time abated in this province, (the persecuting magistrates being mostly dead) yet not wholly abolished; some of their preachers and others of the old stamp still remaining, used their endeavours to keep the spirit thereof alive. The next day these friends went to Boston, where many people came into the meeting, and while John Burnyeat was speaking to them, the marshal and a constable came in. The marshal bidding the constable, who was a moderate man, to execute his office, he replied, *So he did, he was to see the king's peace kept.* He stood a while to hear, went away, and told the deputy governor he had been at the meeting, and heard nothing like blasphemy, but solid and important truths, or to that effect. The people stayed and furnished him with a fair opportunity to preach the gospel to their edification, and to vindicate the society from the calumnies of the priests and others. The people

ple departed greatly satisfied, and applauded the CHA P. doctrine they had heard, which when Thatcher, XXII. one of the Boston preachers, understood, actuated by the old spirit of persecution still alive in 1672. him, the succeeding first-day, in his sermon, Thatcher, priest of Boston, endeavours to excite the magistrates against Quakers. he excited the magistrates present against the Quakers, who immediately sent to take friends from their meeting, and committed several of them to prison. Also James Lancaster and John Stubbs, who came after these the following week, were imprisoned and banished out of the colony by R. Bellingham, governor, who had been deputy under J. Endicott, and a party with him in all the inhuman severity of his government; but his power of punishing was near its termination, for soon after this he went distracted, and in that state departed this life the 7th of December in this year^c.

These friends from Europe continued their travels and religious labours for some time longer on this continent, edifying their friends by their ministry, settling meetings of discipline for preserving and promoting a circumspect conversation, Christian charity and tenderness, brotherly affection and cordial unity amongst them, whose numbers were now increased by conviction. To avoid the tediousness of repeating similar circumstances I forbear tracing their respective movements in their further services, restricting myself to the more *notable passages* to be met with in their progress.

^c Bessé, vol. 2. p. 259.

C H A P. John Burnyeat and his companions continued
xxii. their journey to Salem, and here met with some
 ~~~~~ more of those who had been perverted by John  
 1672. Perrot's notions in keeping on their hats at the  
 Meet with some who had been carried away with Perrot's notions,  
 time of public prayer, amongst whom John Burnyeat and his friends exercised much labour in Christian patience and solicitude to convince them of their error; they appointed a second meeting with them, in order to prevail with them to establish meetings of discipline, the service of which being clearly explained to them, they could not help assenting to the expediency thereof, and yet when pressed to come into the practice of holding these meetings regularly, they discovered a manifest reluctance. John Burnyeat observing their disinclination to comply with the advice of their friends, represented to them, with sorrow, that while they continued in the spirit they were in, they could not act in the church in the unity of the body, to the honour of the holy head, or the edification of the members thereof till they saw their error and condemned it. So saying he left them. However this remonstrance had that effect, that, in several, their consciences were so awakened, as to let them see their mistake, condemn it, and return into unity with the body<sup>k</sup>.

amongst whom they endeavour to introduce order and discipline in vain.

From hence they journeyed on to Providence and Rhode Island; at the former place they met with a company of Ranters, who went generally under the name of Gortonians, \* but called them-

<sup>k</sup> J. Burnyeat, p. 53.

\* This name was given them from their leader, Samuel Gorton, who is represented by Neale, in his History of New England, as a most impudent enthusiast, who had no settled notions



themselves Generalists. These people gave them some trouble, and a greater degree of disgust by their wicked and immoral principles, maintaining that no creaturely actions could be sin, neither fornication nor drunkenness, nor such like immoralities; only spiritual uncleanness; the outward action was but creaturely; thus, like the Ranters in England, making an unintelligible discrimination between the action, and the temper of the mind it was done in.

C H A P.  
XXII.  
1672.

At Rhode-Island they met with George Fox and his companions going westward, in whole company George Pattison joined. They also here received a challenge from Roger Williams of Providence with fourteen propositions, which he engaged to maintain against any of the Quakers from Old England, proposing a discussion of the first seven in Rhode-Island. The challenge was accepted, the meetings held for three days, and terminated in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man, whose propositions (as he called them) were a collection of general charges and accusations, which he could not make good, but which were plainly

notions of religion, having disowned the principles of the Puritans, and embraced no other that he knew of; that he was not only unprincipled in religion, but of turbulent behaviour in every state where he resided. He was banished from Boston and Plymouth, and went to Rhode Island; that he behaved with such insolence there, that he was whipped and banished from that island, and then went over to Roger Williams at Providence, where entering the lands of some Indians, he had like to have involved the English in an Indian war, for which he was condemned, with six of his disciples, by the Massachusetts government to the work-house for six months, and afterwards to depart the country. Neale.

CHAP. XXII. disproved to the satisfaction of the auditory, whereby at length he was silenced.

1672.

The friends, whom William Edmundson had joined, had afterwards a religious meeting with the people, who, at the conclusion thereof, departed well satisfied and kindly affectioned to them. Soon after William Edmundson proceeded to Boston, from whence he embarked for Ireland and returned home.

### CHAP. XXIII.

*John Burnyeat and John Stubbs continue their Travels.—Rigidity prevalent in the Government of Massachusetts.—At Greenwich a Priest raises an Expectation of a Dispute, but procures a Warrant to apprehend them.—The Magistrate being moderate advises them to a Conference.—Remarkable Incident.—George Fox, Robert Widders, &c. travel through the Woods to Maryland.—General Meeting there.—They go to Virginia by Water.—Thence through the Wilderness to Carolina.—Where they visit the Indians as well as the Colonists.—Return to Europe.*

CHAP. XXIII.

1672.  
J. Burnyeat and J. Stubbs continue their journey.

AFTER William Edmundson had taken his passage to Ireland, John Burnyeat and John Stubbs continued their journey through New England. When they came into the government of

of Maffachufets they found the root of bitter-  
 nefs ftill fruitful in that quarter. When they  
 appointed meetings, the officers would come and  
 prohibit them, and fo terrify the people with  
 menaces of bringing them under the penalties of  
 their ecclefiaftical laws, that few or *none* durft  
 come near them; when they remonftrated to the  
 officers and elders they would not ftay to hear  
 them, but would only exclaim againft their  
 religion and them as *heretics*, although at the  
 fame time confeffing they knew not what their  
 principles were, fpeaking evil of the things they  
 underftood not, and tacitly manifefling that they  
 had proceeded in perfecuting this fociety, even  
 to banifhment and death, without ever giving  
 them a fair opportunity of being heard, or well  
 knowing for what reafon they inflicted thefe  
 feverities upon them. At other times the elders  
 would come to difpute with them, on purpofe  
 by their prefence, to awe the younger people  
 from coming to hear their doctrine, which ex-  
 cited the defire of the young people fo far, that  
 fince they could get no public opportunity of  
 hearing them, feveral of thefe reforted to their  
 chamber at the inn, to whom thefe friends ex-  
 plained their principles, proving them by the  
 fcriptures, whereby thefe young people were well  
 fatisfied and edified; but when the elders and  
 dry formal profeflors difcovered this private op-  
 portunity, and underftood they were much af-  
 fected thereby, they fent a conftable to command  
 all to depart, which they declining, the inn-  
 keeper, who was an elder, took away the can-  
 dle, upon which they went away much dif-  
 pleafed.

C H A P.  
 XXIII.  
 1672.  
 Rigidnefs  
 prevalent in  
 the govern-  
 ment of  
 Maffachu-  
 fets.

CHAP. When they came to Greenwich they met  
 XXIII. with some friends and appointed a meeting there.  
 1672. The priest of this town had frequently made the  
 At Green- supposed errors of this society the topic of his  
 wich the priest who had raised expectations of a dispute, procures a warrant to apprehend these friends.  
 suppos'd errors of this society the topic of his  
 invectives in the pulpit, and boasted how he  
 would dispute with the Quakers if any should  
 come thither, which occasioned a great con-  
 course to the meeting, in expectation of the  
 priest's making good his vaunt; but he thought  
 best to cut disputation short, by mounting his  
 horse early in the morning and riding to Stam-  
 ford, about two miles to complain to a magi-  
 strate, who sent a constable with a warrant to  
 apprehend the said two friends; they coming  
 at the beginning of the meeting, took them, and  
 carried them before the magistrate; many of  
 the people followed, and friends also, to see the  
 result. They were called into an inner room  
 to the magistrate, he being indisposed, two  
 priests, the constable, and one other present.  
 This magistrate, a very moderate man, asked  
 them several questions, to which they returned  
 suitable answers; they had much discourse, with  
 which he appeared well satisfied; but upon one  
 of the priests putting a question, John Burnyeat  
 remarked, that if they were disposed to discourse  
 on religious subjects, a more public place would  
 be best adapted to that purpose, as the people  
 were without and desirous to hear; which propo-  
 sal the magistrate seconded, saying, "Mr.  
 " Jones and Mr. Bishop, I desire you to go into  
 " the public meeting-house, and discourse with  
 " these men before the people, for they are  
 " sober rational men." Upon which the friends  
 retired, and went to the meeting-house, whither  
 the priests followed, not without symptoms of  
 being

The magi-  
 strate being  
 moderate,  
 advises to a  
 conference



C H A P.

XXIII.

1672.

being mortified at the disappointment of their desire through the moderate disposition of the magistrate. They spent several hours in conference upon the wages and call of Gospel ministers, election and reprobation, also of free grace ; wherein the priests, in contradiction to plain scripture testimony, alleged that the grace of God had not appeared to all men. The discourse John Burnyeat writes was drawn up in manuscript, but was too copious to be inserted in his journal. The next day they had another meeting at Greenwich, to which the priest came and entered into fresh debate, but failed of his principal aim, for the magistrate would not imprison them, but suffered them to proceed on their travels without further molestation.

In the mean time George Fox, Robert Widders, &c. passed to Providence and Narraganset, and thence to Long Island, Shelter Island, and thence to Shrewsbury in East Jersey. Here they met with an incident which it may not be improper to recite, for the sake of the service it may be of in the like case<sup>d</sup>. They had in their company one John Jay, a planter in Barbadoes, who intended to accompany them through the woods to Maryland, and mounting an horse to try him, being ill broken, it immediately ran away, and threw him on his head, and they believed his neck was broken. Those who were near him took him up as dead, and carried him and laid him on a tree. George Fox got up to him as soon as possible, and feeling him, concluded he was dead. As he stood commiserating him and his family, he took

Remarkable incident.

<sup>d</sup> George Fox, 446.

CHAPTER XXIII.  
1672. took hold of his hair, and found that his head turned any way. He then took his head in both hands, and putting one under his chin, and the other behind his head, he raised it two or three times with all his strength, and brought it into its place, whereby his neck recovered its usual stiffness. He began first to rattle in the throat, and then to breathe, to the amazement of all present. Being taken into the house, getting some warm drink, and being put into a warm bed, he recovered so well (though he had no recollection of what had befallen him) that he continued his journey with them next day to Middletown, and several hundred miles afterwards.

They travel  
to Maryland  
through the  
woods.

From hence they took their journey to Maryland through the woods, having hired Indian guides. In this journey they met with equal difficulties with those they had before experienced, in the like wilderness journey from Virginia to New England. They lodged sometimes in the woods, sometimes in the Indian wigwams. They had many large rivers to cross, some of which they crossed near the head, others in canoes, swimming their horses by the sides thereof. Through numerous difficulties they reached Newcastle in five days, where George Fox was hospitably entertained by the governor, and had a meeting at his house the next day, pretty large, most of the town attending it, as there had never been any meeting of that kind in this town or its vicinity before. It was refreshing to the travellers, and satisfactory to the people, who in tenderness confessed to the truth of the doctrines published amongst them.

From

From hence, by very hard travelling through the like inconvenient ways, they got to Robert Harwood's at Myles River in Maryland in three days more. In this province they had several meetings to profit, both amongst the inhabitants; attended by many of the first rank, and also amongst the Indians, to whom George Fox spoke by an interpreter. They were seriously attentive to his doctrine, and discovered a very affectionate respect to himself.

C H A P  
XXIII.  
1672.

Soon after the general meeting for friends of the province came on, which lasted five days; the three first for public worship, which meetings were very large, comfortably edifying to friends, generally acceptable to the people, and conducive to the conviction of many; the remaining two days were applied to holding the men's and women's meetings. When the meetings were over, they took their leave of friends in these parts, leaving them well established in the truth.

They continued their religious labours some time longer in Maryland, passing from place to place by water in open boats, whereby they were much exposed to wet and cold, and frequent storms; but their zeal and diligence in the discharge of duty, and filling up their days work in honest endeavours, to bring mankind to the knowledge of the truth, that they might be saved, through confidence in divine protection surmounted all the difficulties and dangers of the way.

When they had finished their service in Maryland, they went to Virginia by water, and from thence by land to Carolina, through a wilderness

CHAP. wilderness abounding with bogs and swamps,  
 XXXIII. whereby they were frequently wet to the knees,  
 1672. and at night were obliged to lodge by a fire  
 in the woods. They had meetings in most  
 habitable places, as they passed along, in all  
 which they expressed their satisfaction in the  
 peace they felt as the reward of their labours  
 and travels, and in observing the beneficial  
 effects thereof on the auditory, by bringing  
 them to religious thoughtfulness in these desolate  
 countries, where few or none of this society  
 had travelled before, and where they had  
 little advantage of religious fellowship.

Carolina.

They visit  
 the Indians.

Nor did they confine their labours within the  
 precincts of the English government; the principle  
 of universal love, which they professed and  
 cultivated, incited them to travel and labour  
 among the Indians in the back parts of Carolina,  
 as they had done in other provinces, endeavouring,  
 by the help of interpreters, to suit their doctrine  
 to the comprehensions of these people, by whom  
 also their christian labours were well received,  
 and they would own, they understood what was  
 spoken, and that it was very good.

1673.  
 They return home.

From Carolina they returned back through  
 Virginia to Maryland, and after spending some  
 time in that province, till the general provincial  
 meeting, which held four days, they took their  
 leave of friends in those parts, and embarked  
 at Potuxant for Bristol, as John Burnyeat had  
 done some time before for Galway in Ireland,  
 on their way home.

CHAP.



## C H A P. XXIV.

*In the Time of the Indian War in New England—William Edmundson under impulse of Duty travels a dangerous Journey to the Eastward.—Had Meetings where none of this People had been holden before, at which several were convinced.—He visits a religious People at Reading, at the House of one Gould—Where William Edmundson's Preaching had a good Effect.—After the Indian War an epidemical Sicknes ensues, which proves very mortal.—William Edmundson seized with it, but recovers.—He embarketh for New York.—At New London endeavours to get a Meeting, but is prevented.—William Edmundson and James Fletcher pay a Visit to a Meeting of Baptists.—William Edmundson questions them concerning the Sabbath, as introductory to the Exercise of his Ministry amongst them.—Some Professors of this Age fond of the Old Testament.—Meeting near New London broken up by Officers and armed Men.*

**I**T hath already been observed that William Edmundson, after visiting Barbadoes a second time in 1675, sailed from thence for New England and landed in Rhode-Island. This was in the height of the New England war with the Indians under the command of Philip king of the Wampanoags, which made travelling very dangerous. He staid some meetings with friends in Rhode-Island, which was not molested by the Indians,

C H A P.  
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1675.

In the time  
of the In-  
dian war in  
New Eng-  
land,

CHAP. Indians, for the governor being one of the so-  
 XXIV. ciety of the people called Quakers, the inhabi-  
 1675. tants had taken no part in the war: But on the  
 Continent the Indians carried on the war with  
 considerable success; after their savage manner  
 burning several towns and houses, and daily  
 murdering some or other of the inhabitants,  
 such as they could surprize or overpower. It  
 was an usual custom with them to conceal them-  
 selves behind the trees or among the bushes in  
 the woods, and shoot down the passengers before  
 they were aware, and numbers were murdered  
 in that manner.

William  
 Edmundson  
 under im-  
 pulse of  
 duty travels  
 a dangerous  
 journey to  
 the East-  
 ward.

William Edmundson thought it his duty to  
 travel Eastward to *Piscataway*, to visit his friends  
 in their distress, on account of the war: This  
 was by all esteemed a very perilous undertaking,  
 yet under persuasion of duty, and trust in di-  
 vine protection, he had the courage to under-  
 take the journey; one friend ventured to go  
 with him as a guide through the woods to Sand-  
 wich, where, through gracious mercy, they ar-  
 rived in safety. Friends were greatly rejoiced at  
 his brotherly visit in this discouraging season,  
 and he also was favoured with the consolation  
 of inward peace in the discharge of duty, in  
 faith, through difficulty and danger; he had two  
 meetings with them, to their mutual refreshment  
 and comfort.

Seffenase.  
 Boston.  
 Salem.

From thence he travelled to Seffenase, Boston  
 and Salem, and so to *Piscataway* river and  
 Great Island, visiting his friends, and appoint-  
 ing meetings with them, as he passed along, to  
 mutual satisfaction. He proceeded by boat to  
 Nicholas Shapley's, a friend of note in the coun-  
 try, and from thence over the river to visit  
 his

his friends on that side, had a meeting with them on the first day of the week, which was very large and edifying, many came far to it, and expressed their thankfulness for that comfortable opportunity. Then he returned to Nicholas Shapley's and staid some days, where he had a satisfactory public meeting, and also one for discipline.

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1675.

Nicholas  
Shapley's.

At this time there was a cessation of arms on that river; and one evening while William Edmundson rested at Nicholas Shapley's, fourteen able Indians came into his house; their heads being trimmed and faces painted for war gave them a fierce and terrible appearance. As some of them could speak broken English, William Edmundson endeavoured to enter into familiar conversation with them, but from the moroseness of their carriage, and the fierceness of their countenances, he conceived they were meditating hostile measures; however they went off in the night without offering any injury. In the morning his host acquainted him that he had intelligence that the Indians were designing to make a new incursion, which proved true, for soon after accounts came of their having murdered seventy white people, but William did not hear of any friend being of the number.

William Edmundson returned to Salem, and thence to Marblehead, and had several meetings in those parts, both amongst friends, and in places where none had been held before; many people resorted to them, and several were convinced: For by reason of the wars which spread into most quarters of those colonies, the people's minds were greatly humbled by the apprehensions of danger to which they were exposed,

Salem.  
Marble-  
head.  
Meetings  
where none  
had been  
held before.  
Several  
convinced.

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posed, not only of losing their substance, but their lives also.

1675.  
Visits a religious people at Reading at the house of one Gould.

Thus travelling in many places, as with his life in his hand, and hearing of a religious body of people at Reading, he felt a draft of duty to pay them a visit, and in company with five or six friends more went thither, to an ancient man's house, whose name was Gould, and his house a garrison; for at that time most people, except those called Quakers, were in garrison, for fear of the incursions of the Indians. When they came to the house, the gates were locked, but upon their calling they were presently opened, and when they entered they found several assembled for the exercise of religious worship, to which their coming in seeming to give some interruption. William Edmundson informed them, that they came not to disturb them, for he loved religion, and was seeking religious people; upon which the master of the house desired him to sit down, and took the next seat for himself.

W. Edmundson's preaching at their meeting had a good effect

As William sat amongst them, he felt his heart warmed towards them in the love of the gospel, and told them he had something in his heart to declare amongst them, if they would give him leave: The master of the house bade him speak: His heart being filled with the word of life, he spoke in the demonstration of the spirit and of power, to the awakening of their consciences, and reaching the witness of God in them, to own the truth of his testimony: And after he had finished his testimony, he concluded the meeting in prayer.

At the conclusion, the old man, the master of the house, was so affected, that he rose up, took  
William



William in his arms, owned what he had spoken to be sound doctrine, and thanked God that he could understand it; adding, that he had heard, that the *people called Quakers denied the scriptures, and denied Christ that died for them*, which he understood to be the cause of the difference between their ministers and the said people; but that this day had convinced him of the falsity of the charge, as he had witnessed that they owned both Christ and the scriptures. Although the depredation of war had made provisions scarce in these parts, he would not part with them, until they had dined with him. Then the friends leaving these people impressed with religious desires for themselves and affectionate regard to their visitors, the old man embraced William again, signifying, he doubted his ever seeing him any more.

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1675.

He had several meetings at Boston and parts adjacent, where he met with considerable exercise and trouble, by means of some persons, who professing themselves of the people called Quakers, did not live up to the principles of their profession, which did much hurt, as administering occasion of offence to those who sought it, and counteracting the religious labours of such worthy ministers as, in apprehension of duty, were concerned to leave every domestic comfort, and travel to remote lands, through many hardships and perils, to propagate righteousness, and spread the knowledge of truth, which good work, he regretted, was obstructed by such unfaithful professors.

Being at length clear of those parts, he passed over to Rhode-island in a bark belonging to Edward Wharton of Salem. Here he found friends

At Rhode Island the inhabitants eager to arm.

C H A P. friends attended with difficulties by reason of the  
 XXIV. wars, which raged in many places in that quar-  
 ~~~~~ ter, out of the island: The Indians plundering,  
 1675. burning and killing as they went along; which
 made the inhabitants of the island, who were
 not of the society, eager to arm; but the gover-
 nor Walter Clark, being a member thereof,
 could not in conscience issue commissions to kill
 and destroy. Under their present trouble friends
 were strengthened and encouraged by William
 Edmundson's company, he stayed some time
 amongst them, and had many edifying and com-
 fortable meetings with them both for worship and
 discipline.

After the
 Indian war
 abated, an
 epidemical
 sickness en-
 sued, which
 proves very
 mortal.

During his stay at Rhode-island, the heat of
 the Indian war abated, King Philip being killed,
 and his party subdued; but almost immediately
 after, this island was visited by an epidemical
 distemper, which proved so mortal, that few fa-
 milies therein escaped the loss of some of their
 number in two or three days sickness. William
 Edmundson was diligently employed at this time
 in visiting the families of his friends, (of whom
 many died) although the smell of the sickness
 was loathsome, and but few escaped the infec-
 tion; he expected himself to take it, frequently
 feeling himself as loaded therewith; and after
 some time he was actually seized with it, and
 obliged to take to his bed at Walter Newberry's
 at Newport; but, through the favour of divine
 providence, he was brought safely through, and
 restored to health, so that in about ten days
 time he was able to appear at public meetings,
 and although he was weak, not only by his
 sickness, but the trouble he met with, by disor-
 derly walkers, who took undue liberties in their
 conversation

W Ed-
 mundson
 seized with
 it at New-
 port, but
 recovers.

conversation here, as well as in New England, yet he felt divine support bearing him up over all.

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From hence he took shipping for New York, having James Fletcher for his companion ; but by contrary winds was driven back to New London, and being detained some days, they endeavoured to get a meeting there ; but the inhabitants being rigid independents or presbyterians, and filled with prejudice, would not suffer one to be held amongst them.

1675.
He passeth
to New
York.

At New
London en-
deavours to
get a meet-
ing, but
prevented.

About five miles from hence dwelt a company of baptists, called seventh-day baptists, because they kept the seventh day of the week for their sabbath ; and bearing the character of a sober conscientious people, William Edmundson felt his mind drawn to pay them a visit, and accordingly went thither, accompanied by his companion James Fletcher, and a friendly old Englishman who resided near New London. On the seventh day of the week, when they came thither, they found them assembled in silence ; when they went in, these people seemed to be disturbed ; William gently informed them, that he and his companions had not come to disturb their meeting, but hearing that their sentiments in religion were different from those of the generality of the people in that country, they were come to visit them, and if they had a religion that was good, to share with them. The master of the house then invited them to sit down ; they sat some time in silence, when William feeling a divine authority to speak, and that these people had honest desires in their hearts after the knowledge of God, he began his service by way of question, “ Why they kept
“ that

W. Ed-
mundson
and J.
Fletcher vi-
sit the se-
venth day
baptists.

CHAP. “that day as a sabbath?” to which they answered, “because it was strictly commanded in the Old Testament.” He next queried, “if we were obliged to keep all the law of Moses?” They replied, “No; but the keeping of the sabbath seemed to be required more than the rest of the law.” From this introduction, William took occasion to inform them, that to keep the sabbath after the Jewish law under the christian dispensation was not necessary, as Christ himself did many things which the Jews esteemed a breach of the sabbath; that Christ had ended the law of the old covenant, and now was himself the rest of his people; and that all must know rest, quietness and peace in him. These people sitting in stillness and quietude, furnished him with a favourable opportunity to continue his declaration, in the authority of the gospel, opening to them the way of life and salvation, and when he had done, concluded in fervent prayer; and then took leave of them under the mutual impressions of good will and affection.

Some professors at this time too fond of the Old Testament.

There seems to have been amongst many of the professors of this age too fond an attachment to the Old Testament and the ceremonial law, not only in the preachers, who are said to be fond of taking texts and examples from thence, but also in many well disposed people, like those abovementioned, who have been thereby prevented from making advances in real religion, so far as they might probably have done, if they had more generally considered the ceremonial parts of the law only as types and shadows of good things to come; and the prophecies chiefly to point forward to the benefits of the spiritual

spiritual dispensation of the gospel of Christ; CHAP. and instead of resting in the shadow and type, had XXIV. pressed forward after the possession of the substance typified thereby, and the good things prophesied of. I do not mean hereby to lessen in the least degree a due regard to the Old Testament, as being written by holy men of old; as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost: As such I value and esteem it; but the doctrines of the gospel delivered in the New Testament more immediately concern us under the gospel dispensation, and confirm, and are confirmed by, many parts of the old; and both together are an excellent treasure of divine wisdom and religious instruction. 1675.


The next day, being first day, they appointed a meeting near New London at the house of the person, who had accompanied them in their last visit, to which several of the baptists and other sober people came; the meeting was very solidly gathered, and like to be a favoured and profitable opportunity; but the old prejudiced and persecuting spirit, still prevailing amongst the bigotted self-righteous professors in this quarter, interrupted their solemnity; for a constable and other officers came with a body of armed men, and broke up the meeting, haling and greatly abusing the friends, which much offended the sober people present.

Meeting
near New
London,

broken up
by officers
and armed
men.

C H A P. XXV.

William Edmundson constrained to go to New Hertford, in Resignation to divine Disposal.—Goes to one of their Meeting-houses, where he is heard with Attention.—Goes to the other Meeting-house in the Afternoon, whence he is taken Prisoner.—Being taken to an Inn, he discourses with several Professors.—John Rogers, a Baptist Teacher, entering into Argument with him is confuted.—William Edmundson discharged.—At Long Island they meet with Ranters, who disturb their Meetings.—Edward Tarff, a Ranter, opposeth William Edmundson.

CHAP. XXV.
 1675.  SOON after William Edmundson first went aboard the ship, in order to pass over to New York, he felt a weighty concern on his mind to go to New Hertford, in Connecticut colony, which lay about fifty miles up the country, through a great wilderness, and very dangerous to travel: The Indians, yet in arms, haunting those parts, and killing many of the English; so that it seemed very discouraging for him, a stranger in the country, to encounter a journey attended with so much danger. He therefore kept his concern thus far to himself, in hopes that he might be excused in this time of jeopardy. That evening he went on board again, and the vessel set sail, the wind being pretty fair; but soon

soon turned right against them and blew a storm, which obliged them to put into harbour, where they lay some days. William Edmundson being still unable to get from under his concern towards Hertford, apprehended himself, by his backwardness to obey the pointings of duty, to be the cause of the crosses and detention of the vessel; and therefore acquainting the company with his concern, he took his leave of them signifying he must go in submission to the divine will, whether he should live or die.

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XXV.

1675.

W. Edmundson constrained to go to New Hertford, in resignation to divine disposal. J. Fletcher accompanies him.

Then preparing himself for his journey, and his companion resolving not to desert him, they went ashore, purchased horses, and next morning set out without a guide, and travelled hard through the wilderness, for the greatest part of the day, and reached an inn about four miles from the town: Here he left his companion and the horses, and walked early next morning (being the first day of the week) to the town; he went in the morning to one meeting-house, and when the priest had finished, he spoke to the people what was on his mind; they were moderate and quiet, heard with attention; and when he had done they parted. In the afternoon he went to the other meeting-house, for there were two large ones in the town; when he came thither, the priest and people were gathered, having a guard of soldiers, for fear of the Indians coming upon them, while they were at their worship. William went in, and declared the way of salvation amongst them; but after some time, at the instance of the priest, the officers haled him out rudely, and hurt his arm, so that it bled, and took him to the guard, upon a hill.

Goes to one of their meeting-houses, where he preaches, and is heard with attention.

In the afternoon goes to the other meeting-house, whence he is taken prisoner.

CHAP. It was a very piercing cold day: the officer
 xxv. who had him in charge, complaining thereof,
 ~~~~~ asked him "how he could bear the cold?" for  
 1675. that he was very cold. William replied, "that  
 " it was the entertainment, which their great  
 " professors in New England afforded to a stran-  
 " ger, and yet they professed the scriptures to  
 " be their rule, which command to entertain  
 " strangers:" The officer seemed to be troubled,  
 and endeavoured to excuse the magistrates.  
 Then he took him to an inn, and immediately  
 the room was filled with professors, with whom  
 he had much discourse: As one company went  
 away another came. William being well quali-  
 fied to discourse or dispute with them, and well  
 versed in the scriptures, was furnished with  
 matter to inform the enquirers, and silence the  
 disputers. When the company in general had  
 given up, a preacher among the baptists took  
 up the argument, imputing it to the people call-  
 ed Quakers, as a great error to maintain, that  
 every man had a measure of the spirit of Christ;  
 he wanted to know if William held the same  
 error. William told him, it was no error, for  
 the scriptures testified it in many parts. The  
 baptist denied that the world had received a  
 measure of the spirit; but that believers had re-  
 ceived it. And as William brought one scrip-  
 ture after another in confirmation of the univer-  
 sality of the manifestation of the spirit, he still  
 restricted it to *every one* of the believers, alleg-  
 ing that was the ground of their error, in ap-  
 plying that to *every man*, which properly belonged  
 to believers. William then recollected the pro-  
 mise of our Saviour, "That he would send  
 " the comforter, the spirit of truth, that should  
 " convince

Being taken  
 to an inn  
 W. Ed-  
 mundson  
 has much  
 discourse  
 with pro-  
 fessors.

J. Rogers,  
 a baptist  
 preacher, is  
 confuted.



“ convince the world of sin, and should guide  
 “ his disciples into all truth.” On which he  
 argued thus; therefore thou must grant that all  
 have received it, or else prove from scripture  
 that there is a select number of believers, and  
 besides them a world of believers that have the  
 spirit; and also another world of unbelievers  
 that have no measure of the spirit to convince  
 them of sin. This put him to a nonplus, and  
 many sober persons, who stayed to see the issue,  
 gave it against him, saying, “ Indeed, Mr. Ro-  
 gers, the man is in the right, for you must  
 “ bring the proof, which he hath demanded, or  
 “ grant his argument.” Then the people de-  
 parted well satisfied.

C H A P.

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1675.

As they lodged that night at the same inn, William took the opportunity of a friendly conference with this man; and finding by his discourse, that he also had suffered some persecution from the rigid presbyterians or independents of that quarter, he remonstrated to him, how ungenerous it was in him to join with them in opposing him, who was a stranger and single, engaged against a multitude; to which he made no reply directly; but gave him an account of himself, whereby it appears, this John Rogers had been a member of one of the independent congregations, but was now a pastor of those seventh day people, to whom William had lately paid a religious visit.

In the morning William Edmundson sent to the officer who had him in charge the day before, to know whether he had any further business with him, who sent him back word that he might go when and whither he pleased; upon which he returned to the place where he had

W. Ed-  
mundson  
discharged.

CHAP. had left his horse and his companion. In the  
 XXV. mean time his companion, uneasy at his stay, had  
 gone to Hertford by a different way to look for  
 1675. him, whereby they missed of one another. At  
 Hertford James Fletcher hearing of his return  
 followed him, and upon their meeting told him  
 he had set all the town talking of religion.

Long Island. From hence they went to Long Island, where  
 they were gladly received by friends; but were  
 much disturbed by a set of ranters, who had arisen  
 in these parts, and made it a practice to come  
 into friends meetings, singing and dancing in a  
 frantic manner, to the great annoyance of their  
 religious assemblies. Notwithstanding which they  
 had several large and comfortable meetings;  
 many of these ranters, present in some of them,  
 appeared to be chained down by the divine power  
 covering these awful solemnities, and attending  
 the testimonies delivered therein; whereby some  
 of them were brought to a sense of their errors,  
 and under the perception thereof to condemn  
 themselves for their licentious and indecent con-  
 duct.

East Jersey. Proceeding to East Jersey, they had meetings  
 at Shrewsbury, and at Richard Hartshorn's, full  
 and large and edifying. In this last they were  
 disturbed again with those deluded people, par-  
 ticularly by one Edward Tarff, who came into  
 the meeting with his face blackened, saying, it  
 was his justification and sanctification; he sung  
 and danced after their wild manner, and coming  
 up to William Edmundson, called him *old rotten*  
*priest*. William told him he was *mad*, and that  
 made him fret, and looking at him in the au-  
 thority with which he was vested, dared him to  
 look him in the face for half an hour, where-  
 with

They meet  
 with ran-  
 ters, who  
 disturb their  
 meetings.

E. Tarff, a  
 ranter, op-  
 poseth W.  
 Edmund-  
 son.

with being smitten and daunted he went away. CHAP.  
William stood up, in the power of the gospel, XXV.  
and appealed to the meeting, whether this was  
not the same power of God, in which he came  
among them at first, unto which they were di-  
rected, and whereby they were convinced of  
truth. Shewing them that the ranters by de-  
parting from this divine power, were deceived  
by a transformed spirit, and given up to strong  
delusions. It proved an edifying meeting; the  
people were affected with tenderness, and friends  
strengthened and edified together.

1675.

## C H A P. XXVI.

*An Indian Guide loseth his way in the Woods, and guideth them wrong.—Richard Hartshorn adviseth their turning back to Rariton, and they discover the Path to Delaware.—At Delaware Town under difficulty to get Entertainment.—William Edmundson loseth the Use of his Limbs by the Cold in Virginia and the Bay of Chesapeake.—An Indian War and a Civil War in Virginia at the same Time.—William Edmundson hath Carolina in prospect.—His Friends dissuade him from the Journey, as being very dangerous.—But being confirmed in the Apprehension of Duty calling him, he undertakes the Journey.—Arrives there in safety.—And returns to Virginia in like Manner.—And from thence embarks for England.*

C H A P. XXVI. FROM East Jersey William Edmundson and his companion took their journey through the wilderness towards Maryland, with an Indian for their guide, who lost his way and left them in the woods, where they were obliged to take up their lodging that night. And next morning being entirely at a loss to find their way in the wilderness, to which they were strangers, Richard Hartshorn, who with Eliakim Wardel had accompanied them thus far, proposed their turning back to Rariton river, which they had left about

1676.

An Indian guide loseth his way in the woods.



about ten miles behind them, to find out a land-  
 ing place from New York, from which a small  
 path led to Delaware Falls. This plan succeed-  
 ed ; by travelling all that day, and taking up an-  
 other night's lodging in the woods, they reach-  
 ed the falls pretty timely next morning, where  
 providentially they found an Indian man and  
 woman with a canoe, whom they hired to set  
 them over the river. They passed over, after  
 the customary manner of that time, by swimming  
 their horses by the side of the canoe, and got  
 safely to shore. They proceeded to Uplands  
 (since called Chester) and to Delaware town,  
 which at that time was under New York govern-  
 ment ; for Pennsylvania was a name as yet un-  
 known. At Delaware town they were under dif-  
 ficulty to get entertainment amongst the Dutch  
 and Swedes, who inhabited it, until William  
 Edmundson applied to the deputy governor, in-  
 forming him that they were travellers, and had  
 money to pay for what they called for, but could  
 not get lodgings for their money. The gover-  
 nor received them with much courteousness,  
 went with them to an ordinary, and ordered the  
 landlord to provide them lodging, which was  
 both mean and dear ; but the governor was so  
 kind as to desire them to send to him for any  
 thing they wanted.

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 1676.  
 Delaware  
 Falls.

At Delaware  
 town under  
 difficulty to  
 get enter-  
 tainment.

William Edmundson continued his travels and  
 ministerial labours (as in his former visit) to Ma-  
 ryland, Virginia and Carolina, appointing meet-  
 ings in all convenient places, and attending the  
 meetings of his friends, wherever they were  
 settled, which were often very satisfactory and  
 profitable, both the public meetings for wor-  
 ship,

CHAP. ship, and those for managing the discipline of  
XXVI. the church.

1676.

In Virginia  
and the bay  
of Chesape-  
peak the  
cold wea-  
ther affects  
W. Ed-  
mundson to  
the loss of  
the use of  
his limbs.

An Indian  
war, and  
also a civil  
war in Vir-  
ginia.

While in Virginia, and passing the bay of Chesapeak, the weather was so cold and stormy, that, for want of fire or covering (being in an open boat) he in a great measure lost the use of his limbs for a season; so that when he came ashore he could neither stand nor walk without the support of two men on each side; and in like manner was he taken again to the boat.

It was also a time of trouble and danger in this province, they being at once engaged in a war with the Indians, and in a civil war amongst themselves. A young man, named Bacon, availing himself of some discontents among the people, on account of restraints on trade, by his popular declamations, gained that ascendancy amongst them, that they chose him for their general against Sir William Berkley, governor of the province.

In this contest the country was generally involved, except those of the society of the people called Quakers, who in conformity to their principles took no active part in the quarrel. And William Edmundson's presence at such a season amongst them, contributed, no doubt, to strengthen them in a steady adherence to their pacific principles. He travelled for a considerable time from place to place, until some frigates came from England with troops to quell the disturbances, which with the death of their leader, terminated the civil commotions; but the Indians continued their incursions some time longer.

W. Ed-  
mundson  
hath Caro-  
lina in view.

When he apprehended his service finished in Virginia he had Carolina in prospect before his return to his native land; but this prospect  
was

was attended with great discouragement, the Indians being still out in arms, and committing frequent murders, and particularly frequenting that wilderness, through which his road to Carolina lay, where very few durst travel unarmed.

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1676.

His friends used their endeavours to dissuade him from undertaking so hazardous a journey, where (by their accounts) several people had been murdered. He was naturally a man not easily intimidated, yet having a tenderness for the reputation of truth more than his own life, he began to consider, that if he should fall by the hands of the savages, it might furnish occasion to such as sought occasion, to depreciate the principle of truth which he professed, and his friends also, as being under the guidance of a principle of action delusive in its nature, and leading them presumptuously into error and danger, to the loss of their lives: For this reason he endeavoured to protect his setting out, in hopes the concern might be taken from him. In the mean time he appointed a meeting on the north side of James River, to which many friends came a great way, and amongst others the eldest son of the widow Houtland, at whose house William had lodged, with whom he took a walk the evening before the meeting, to give him some friendly advice: They parted to their respective lodgings in usual health, and a messenger came before morning to tell William, *the young man was dead.*

His friends  
dissuade  
him from  
going thi-  
ther, being  
a journey  
full of dan-  
ger.

This news was an affecting surprize to his friends, but particularly to William Edmundson, who with it seemed to hear a language in his soul, which he took to be a divine warning, expressing itself to this purport: All lives are

W. Ed-  
mundson  
confirmed  
in his ap-  
prehension  
of duty to  
visit Caro-  
lina.

CHAP. are in my hand, and if thou go not to Carolina, thy life is as this young man's; but if thou go, I will give thee thy life for a prey.

1676. Thus powerfully impressed with the inward sense of duty calling him to the performance of the journey, the next day he began to prepare for it, but none durst venture to accompany him, except one ancient friend. In his company he traversed the wilderness, and through the merciful protection of that divine hand in which he trusted, in two days reached Carolina in safety; here he had several consolatory meetings. The people at this time being widely scattered in this colony, having little or no benefit of ministry amongst them, received William with gladness and affection; and several were convinced by his labours. Friends being settled in the discipline and good order of their profession, he left them edified by his religious service amongst them, and departed under the comfortable sense of their prosperity in the best things, and of peace in his own bosom, resulting from his pursuing the line of duty without being deterred by impending danger, trusting his life to the hands of him who gave it, and who he knew had power to preserve it. In the like religious confidence in divine preservation he returned safe to Virginia, and from thence to England, with the view of attending the ensuing yearly meeting at London, which he reached in due time.

Arrives  
there in  
safety,

and returns  
in like man-  
ner back to  
Virginia,  
and thence  
embarks for  
England.

From these accounts it appears that sundry members of this society had removed to or been convinced in several of the West Indian islands, also in New England, Rhode Island, Long Island and New York, and that the  
number



number in these parts were sufficiently numerous to constitute a regular yearly or half yearly meeting in Rhode Island, for the said island and the province of New England; and in Long Island for New York; also in Maryland, Virginia and Carolina we find sundry meetings were settled; and in the two former men's and women's meetings were established for preserving good order in the society.

CHAP. XXVI.

1677.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*Settlement in West Jersey.—Friends hold their Meetings at first in a Tent.—Afterwards at the House of John Woolston.—They establish a Monthly Meeting at Burlington.—Commence a Correspondence with the yearly Meeting of London.—Several Friends from Dublin and its Neighbourhood remove thither.—George Fox writes an Epistle of Advice to the new Settlers.—Yearly Meeting established at Burlington.*

BEFORE and about this time several friends had arrived in West Jersey, and the Indians were very kind and hospitable, both by supplying them with provisions on moderate terms, and otherwise assisting them, so that they were not very long there till they found their new settlement tolerably easy.

CHAP. XXVII.

1678.  
Several friends settled in West Jersey.

One

CHAP. One of their first cares was to accommodate  
 XXVII. themselves with a place for religious worship.

At first they built a tent at Burlington, where  
 1678. they assembled regularly at stated times, until  
 They hold their meet- John Woolston had got his house (the first  
 ings at first framed house in Burlington) completed; then  
 in a tent. they met there, both for worship and discipline,

They com-  
 mence a  
 correspon-  
 dence with  
 the yearly  
 meeting of  
 London.

for near three years, when they removed their  
 meeting to Thomas Gardiner's, where it conti-  
 nued to be held during his life and that of his  
 widow, till a meeting-house was built there.  
 Soon after they established a regular monthly  
 meeting for business, after the manner of the  
 country from whence they had removed, the  
 first care of which was to make provision for  
 their poor; the next, to discourage all friends  
 from being concerned in selling spirituous li-  
 quors to the Indians. In the year 1680 friends  
 of the said monthly meeting of Burlington  
 commenced a correspondence with the yearly  
 meeting of London. The purport of their first  
 epistle was to request friends of the yearly  
 meeting to recommend it to the several counties  
 and meetings, out of which any of their mem-  
 bers might incline to remove to these parts, to  
 take care to supply them with certificates of  
 their orderly conversation, right of member-  
 ship, and clearness from marriage engagements,  
 if single and marriageable, that friends here  
 might not be at a loss in what light to receive  
 them, coming strangers amongst them; which  
 request being agreeable to the discipline esta-  
 blished in like cases, procured a minute of said  
 meeting, recommending to friends a compliance  
 therewith.

A confi-

A considerable number of friends of Dublin CHAP. and its vicinity being inclined in 1681 to re- xxvii. move from thence into the province of West Jersey, wherein several of them had before purchased an interest, sent to London and chartered a vessel, whereof Thomas Lurting\*, noted for his deliverance from the Turks, was master, 1681. Several friends from Dublin and its neighbourhood remove to West Jersey.


\* This man being brought up to the sea, was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers by means of one of the said people, who was likewise a mariner on board a man of war. After which he was repeatedly pressed into ships of war, and in danger of suffering for refusing to fight, but he kept steady to his principles. Afterwards being mate to George Pattison, a friend, as they were passing through the Mediterranean, in their return from Venice, they were chased and taken by an Algerine Pirate, and thirteen Turks put on board to take the ship and prisoners to Algiers; but by the management of this Thomas Lurting the ship was re-taken, without violating his peaceable principles, in the following manner: The weather growing stormy, separated them from the man of war, and a night or two after, it raining hard, he persuaded all the Turks, one after another, to go down into the cabins and sleep; and while they were all asleep, he got possession of their arms, which when he had done, he told the sailors, "Now we have the Turks at our command, no man shall hurt any of them, for if you do I will be against you." Then they put before the wind for Majorca, and next morning they were near it, which when the Algerines understood, they were in great affliction and terror, and begged that they might not be sold to the Spaniards, which it was promised they should not, and the promise was made good; for it being reported on shore, by an English Captain who wanted to have two or three of them in his possession, that there were several Turks prisoners aboard their Vessel, the Spaniards, they heard, threatened to take them away; to prevent which, calling the Turks to their assistance, they quickly got out to sea. Afterwards they sailed to the coast of Barbary, where the mate undertook to put them ashore in their own country; and after some time of consideration  
how

CHAPTER XXVII. 1681. ter, who accordingly failed to Dublin to take them in, but being taken sick there, he could not proceed: His mate therefore taking his place, in about eight weeks after their departure from Dublin landed them at Elsingburgh near Salem, where some of them settled amongst their former acquaintance, who had removed before them, and whose industry had provided an ample supply of provisions for their accommodation. There was then a considerable number of friends at Salem, and a meeting-house built; and several of the houses in that town being unoccupied, by means of the owners having removed further into the country, those who had families were readily accommodated with habitations for the present. After some time several of them took up their land, and fixed at a place called Newton Creek, where they raised temporary habitations adjacent to each other, for fear of the Indians, of whom their fears and jealousies subsided, as they became better acquainted with them: Then finding it inconvenient to be seated so near together, they divided their lands, and removed to their respective plantations; and notwithstanding the land had been purchased by the Commissioners of the Indians, they gave them a compensation

to

how it might be done in safety, he took them, with the help of some of the men, in the boat, so near the shore that they might wade to it, which at his desire they readily did; and because they said they were four miles from any town, he gave them some bread and other necessaries. Then putting the boat closer in, they threw them their arms on shore, and put off to return to the ship. Thus manifesting in deeds their obedience to the precepts of our Saviour—Love your enemies, and do good to them that hate you.



to remove off. The Indians were very friendly CHAP.  
 and serviceable to them in several respects, XXVII.  
 often supplying them with venison and corn, till   
 they could reap the fruits of their own labours, 1681.  
 which, with the supply they received from Salem,  
 prevented them from suffering much hardship  
 in their new settlement. In the spring they  
 settled a meeting at the house of Mark Newby,  
 and in two years afterwards they built a meet-  
 ing-house at Newtown. Sundry friends having  
 settled, some by the river's side, some beyond  
 Cooper's Creek, and some at Woodberry Creek,  
 with the concurrence of Burlington friends they  
 established a monthly meeting for discipline, to  
 preserve their members orderly in conversation,  
 and for the other good purposes of such meet-  
 ings; and some time after, they and friends  
 at Salem encreasing in number, composed to-  
 gether one quarterly meeting.

In the latter end of this year George Fox G. Fox  
writes an  
epistle of  
advice to  
the new  
settlers.  
 wrote an epistle of salutary advice to the new  
 settlers, and those who were proposing to re-  
 move to the plantations in America; in parti-  
 cular, to cultivate a good understanding with  
 the Indians, and by all means in their power to  
 bring them to the knowledge of true religion,  
 to invite them to their meetings, and hold  
 meetings amongst them, that truth and righte-  
 ousness might spread; and that friends, by an  
 upright, peaceable and honest conversation,  
 might be a light to the nations around them,  
 wherever their lots might be cast.

The monthly meeting of friends in Burling-  
 ton was still held at the house of John Wool-  
 ston, and consisted of friends residing about the

CHAP. Falls of Delaware, and those of the meetings  
 XXVII. of Rankokas and Schackamaxon, who were  
 ~~~~~  
 1681. now grown numerous. In consideration where-
 of friends at the said monthly meeting, held
 the 2d of the 3d month this year, concluding
 that a yearly meeting might be of general ser-
 vice, unanimously agreed to establish one in
 Burlington, the first of which was to begin the
 28th of 6th month following, which accord-
 ingly met at the house of Thomas Gardiner.
 On the 31st they proceeded to business, and
 particularly to regulate the holding of the diffe-
 rent meetings of worship and discipline, by ap-
 pointing the times and places when and where
 each particular meeting through the country
 should be held; among which a general meet-
 ing for worship was agreed to be held yearly at
 Salem, on the first day of the 2d month.

Yearly
 meeting es-
 tablished at
 Burlington.

Having now traced the settlement of friends
 in the various inhabited parts of this continent
 from such authentic records as I have had the
 opportunity of consulting, the time calls our
 attention to the planting of a new colony,
 wherein this society have become more nume-
 rous, and more conspicuous than in any other,
 or perhaps in all the rest together.

C H A P. XXVIII.

P E N S Y L V A N I A.

Pensylvania granted by the Crown to William Penn.—Of which he is made Governor and absolute Proprietor.—William Penn publishes a Description of the Country, and encouraging Terms of Settlement.—He takes Shipping for his Province.—And at his Arrival is received with Joy and Affection.—His Treaty with the Indians.—Kindness of the Indians to the new Settlers.—Liberty of Conscience the leading Article of the Constitution.—First general Assembly.

SIR William Penn, who had been long employed in the station of admiral, both under Oliver Cromwell and King Charles the Second, at his death had a considerable debt due to him from the crown, either for arrears or for advances made to government in the sundry expeditions in which he was engaged. The King in lieu of pecuniary satisfaction, by letters patent, bearing date the 4th of the month called March, 1680-1, granted to William Penn, son of the admiral, and his heirs, that province lying on the west of the river Delaware, North America, formerly possessed by the Dutch, being a part of that tract denominated by them The New Netherlands; but now the name was changed by the King to that of Pensylvania, in honour of William Penn, whom and his heirs he made governors and absolute proprietors thereof. This peculiar fa-

C H A P.
XXVIII.

1681.

Pensylva-
nia granted
to William
Penn,of which he
is made go-
v-ernor and
absolute
proprietor.

C H A P. XXVIII.
 1681. your of the king is supposed to be principally owing to the influence of the Duke of York, with whom, as high admiral of England, admiral Penn had been a peculiar favourite, who considering his son exposed to the danger of suffering for his religious principles, had demonstrated his paternal affection by soliciting the duke's protection of him, which he promised, and in general afforded.

W. Penn publishes an account of the country, with encouraging offers to settle there.

William Penn soon after published an account of Pennsylvania, with the king's patent, and other papers relating thereto, describing the country and its produce, and offering an easy purchase of lands, and encouraging terms of settlement to such as might incline to remove thither. Many single persons and some families from England and Wales accepted the invitation, especially from North Wales an hardy race of men went over, well adapted to encounter the difficulties of cultivating a new colony, having been inured to hard labour for a scanty subsistence from the barren mountains of their native country. With singular application and industry they surmounted the inconveniences generally attendant upon settling in a wilderness, soon cleared their purchased lands, and improved their respective plantations to advantage. And to secure the friendship of the natives to the new colony (who in some other provinces having been injuriously treated had revenged themselves to the loss of many lives) the governor gave order to use them with the utmost candour and humanity, appointed commissioners to treat with them about land, and to confirm a league of peace, by whom he also addressed the following letter :

“ London,

“ London, the 18th of the 8th month, 1681.

“ MY FRIENDS,

1681.

“ THERE is a GREAT GOD and Power, that
 “ hath made the world and all things therein,
 “ to whom you and I and all people owe their
 “ being and well-being; and to whom you and
 “ I must one day give an account for all that
 “ we do in the world: this Great God hath
 “ written his LAW in our hearts, by which we
 “ are taught and commanded to love and help,
 “ and do good to one another, and not to do
 “ harm and mischief unto one another: now
 “ this Great God hath been pleased to make me
 “ concerned in your part of the world, and the
 “ king of the country where I live hath given
 “ me a great province therein; but I desire to
 “ enjoy it with your love and consent, that we
 “ may always live together as neighbours and
 “ friends; else what would the Great God do
 “ to us? who hath made us not to devour and
 “ destroy one another, but to live soberly and
 “ kindly together in the world. Now I would
 “ have you well observe, that I am very sensible
 “ of the unkindness and injustice that hath
 “ been too much exercised towards you by the
 “ people of these parts of the world, who have
 “ sought themselves, and to make great advan-
 “ tages by you, rather than to be examples of
 “ justice and goodness unto you, which I hear
 “ hath been matter of trouble unto you, and
 “ caused great grudgings and animosities, some-
 “ times to the shedding of blood, which hath
 “ made

CHAP. “ made the Great God angry. But I am not
 XXVIII. “ such a man, as is well known in my own
 1681. “ country: I have great love and regard to-
 “ wards you, and I desire to win and gain your
 “ love and friendship by a kind, just, and peace-
 “ able life, and the people I send are of the
 “ same mind, and shall in all things behave
 “ themselves accordingly; and if in any thing
 “ any shall offend you, or your people, you shall
 “ have a full and speedy satisfaction for the
 “ same, by an equal number of just men on
 “ both sides, that by no means you may have just
 “ occasion of being offended against them. I
 “ shall shortly come to you myself, at what time
 “ we may more largely and freely confer and
 “ discourse of these matters; in the mean time
 “ I have sent my commissioners to treat with
 “ you about land, and a firm league of peace:
 “ let me desire you to be kind to them and the
 “ people, and receive these presents and tokens
 “ which I have sent you, as a testimony of my
 “ good-will to you, and my resolution to live
 “ justly, peaceably, and friendly with you.

“ I am your loving friend,

“ W. PENN.”

W. Penn
 takes ship-
 ping for his
 province.

In the summer of 1682, William Penn him-
 self took shipping for this province, in order to
 take possession and establish the constitution and
 government thereof, being accompanied by
 many of his friends, who, from the prospect
 of enjoying their civil and religious liberties,
 without the molestation they were exposed to
 in

in England, were induced to remove themselves, CHAP.
to settle under the government of a man with XXVIII.
whose humanity, liberality of sentiment, and re-
ligious regard to justice and equity they were 1682.
well acquainted^a.

In about two months they finished their voyage, during which William Penn manifested a fatherly concern for his people's welfare and accommodation in every respect, edifying them by his good conversation, holding religious meetings with them regularly during their passage, and therein labouring to establish them in virtue and righteousness, as the sure foundation of success and prosperity in their undertakings in this life, as well as felicity in that which is to come: And the small pox breaking out amongst them, his tender care was further evidenced by his compassionate attention to the sick, in contributing every necessary relief and assistance in his power. Out of the company about thirty died.

When they had entered the Delaware, and were sailing up that river, the inhabitants, as well Dutch and Swedes as English, met and congratulated William Penn on his arrival, and received him with demonstrations of much joy and affection. He landed at Newcastle, and next day summoned the people to the courthouse and made a speech, declaring the purpose of his coming and the ends of his government, assuring them of the free enjoyment of liberty of conscience and civil freedom, recommending them to live in sobriety and peace one with another; previous whereto possession of the

He is received with demonstrations of joy and affection.

^a R. Townsend's narrative.

C H A P. country was legally given him. But William
 XXVIII. Penn's religious principles leading to the practice
 of the most scrupulous morality in point of justice
 1682. and equity, did not permit him to look upon the
 king's patent, or the legal possession according to
 the laws of England, sufficient to establish his right
 to this country, without purchasing it from the
 natives, to whom by right of possession it properly
 belonged^b: He entered into and confirmed
 a treaty with them for this purpose, whereby
 they, for a valuable consideration in purchase,
 freely ceded to him and his heirs the lands in
 question, which gave a security to the planters
 in this colony, beyond that which those of the
 other provinces had obtained by much blood-
 shed. And the testimony of a late author^c concerning
 this treaty is very honourable to both the
 contracting parties, that "it is the only treaty
 " between those people and the Christians that
 " was not ratified by an oath, and was never
 " infringed."

His treaty
with the
Indians.

Kindness of
the Indians
to the new
settlers.

This friendly and pacific manner of treating
 the Indians begat in them an extraordinary
 affection and regard to him and his people,
 such, that they maintained a perfect amity with
 the English of Pennsylvania, and revered the me-
 mory of William Penn long after his decease,
 and still continue to hold it in great esteem.

This amicable disposition of the natives^d was
 of very great service to the new planters, who
 at their arrival found the country a mere wil-
 derness, chiefly inhabited by Indians, with a

^b W. Penn's life.

^c Voltaire.

^d Townsend.

few Swedes thinly scattered, who received and CHAP. treated them with particular kindness and hospi- XXVIII. tality, for that notwithstanding the number of these new colonists was considerable, they were by the goodness of Providence furnished with the necessary supply of provisions, partly by the Swedes and Indians, who brought them abundance of venison and corn at very reasonable rates, and partly by importation from the neighbouring provinces which were settled before. 1682.

William Penn having thus conciliated the affections of the Indians to his colony, his paternal care and humanity was next applied to lay a lasting foundation for the peace and happiness of his people among themselves, by establishing a constitution of government and a body of laws, calculated to secure their religious and civil liberties, and the free and full enjoyment of their property on the firmest basis: Ever an advocate for a full toleration of religion, he established in the first place on the broadest bottom, the leading article of the new constitution being this:

Fundamental article of the constitution, liberty of conscience.

“ That all persons living in this province,
 “ who confess and acknowledge the one Al-
 “ mighty and Eternal God to be the Creator,
 “ Upolder and Ruler of the world, and that
 “ hold themselves obliged in conscience to live
 “ peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in
 “ no wise be molested or prejudiced for their
 “ religious persuasion or practice in matters of
 “ faith and worship; nor shall they be com-
 “ pelled at any time to frequent or maintain
 “ any religious worship, place, or ministry
 “ whatsoever.”

In

CHAP. In the tenth month following a general assem-
 XXVIII. bly of the freeholders was held at Chester, by
 which Newcastle was annexed to Pensylvania;
 1682. the foreigners there inhabiting were naturalized;
 and William Penn having agreed, in concert with
 the adventurers, previous to their departure
 from England, upon the frame of government,
 and the laws to be established in the province,
 (drawn up by himself) the same, with some
 amendments and alterations, were now con-
 firmed, ratified and passed into acts of assembly,
 as the established laws of the colony. The pro-
 ceedings of this assembly were conducted with
 mutual affection and remarkable unanimity; nor
 is it wonderful that they should, as no occasion
 of jealousy could possibly arise between a go-
 vernor, whose extraordinary disinterestedness
 centered his views chiefly in the ease and pro-
 sperity of his people, and an assembly who
 placed an implicit confidence in the approved
 veracity and equity of their ruler. William
 Penn's own account in a letter to the com-
 mittee in London of traders to this province in
 the fall of the succeeding year, gives an amiable
 picture of the harmony subsisting between him
 and the assembly, and in the assembly among
 themselves, viz. * "Two general assemblies
 " have been held, and with such concord and

First gene-
 ral assem-
 bly.

Unanimity
 of the as-
 sembly.

* The following is Abbé Raynal's reflection upon the state
 of Pensylvania at this time: "Here it is that the mind rests
 " with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind
 " of compensation for the disgust, horror or melancholy
 " which the whole of it, but particularly the European set-
 " tlements in America inspires."

" dispatch,

“ dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and
 “ at least seventy laws were passed without one
 “ dissent in any material thing. ‘ I cannot for-
 “ get their singular respect to me in this in-
 “ fancy of the state, who at their own private
 “ expense so early considered mine for the pub-
 “ lic, as to present me with an impost on cer-
 “ tain goods imported and exported, which after
 “ my acknowledgment of their affection I did
 “ as freely remit to the province and the traders
 “ to it.”

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1682.
Constitution and government.

The constitution and laws being fixed and established by the unanimous suffrages of the people’s representatives in an unbiassed assembly ; in order to preserve the future assemblies equally free and uncorrupt ; it was ordained that elections should be annual, and the votes given by ballot ; that the voices of the electors might be given of free choice, without the possibility of being detected, in order to remove every opportunity of undue influence. ‘ William Penn’s next care was to establish magistrates and tribunals in every * county with proper officers, &c. where the courts were held every two months for the execution of the laws, the administration of justice, and preservation of property. But in order to prevent the expense and vexation of lawsuits as much as possible, which in other states, through the management of the practitioners, are generally a gulf that swallows up the

Courts of law.

‘ Penn’s works, fo. p. 612.

‘ Raynal, William Penn, Guthrie.

* The planted part of the province at this time was divided into six counties, Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Newcastle, Kent and Suffex.

C H A P.
XXVIII.



1682.

Arbitrators
to be ap-
pointed by
every coun-
ty court.

Orphan's
court.

property they should defend, and are a grievance instead of protection; he ordained that three arbitrators should be appointed by every county court to hear and end differences between their neighbours in an amicable, impartial and unexpensive way. And judging it more eligible to prevent crimes than to punish them, his laws were directed to put a stop to them in their very sources, poverty and idleness: it was enacted, that every child of twelve years old should be obliged to learn some trade or profession, whatever his condition might be. No class of his people escaped the attention of his spirit of universal benevolence, which incited him to patronize and assist them all, and especially those who stood most in need of assistance. He instituted a particular and distinct court in each county, called the orphan's court, to meet twice a year, for the purpose of inspecting and regulating the affairs of orphans and widows, and afforded them its patronage and protection.

Such institutions, evidently calculated for the happiness and prosperity of mankind, quickly drew numbers of fresh adventurers from different parts to participate in the advantages of this just and equal government, so that its progress in cultivation and population was rapid, almost beyond example. "Pennsylvania," says Raynal, "without either wars, or conquests, or struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the sweetness of its manners; and distant na-
tions,

“ tions, notwithstanding their corruption, paid
 “ homage to its virtues.”

C H A P.

XXVIII.

1682.

Perhaps it may be thought I have digressed too far, and am making a transition to a political history by dwelling too long on this subject: The humane mind must delight to dwell with satisfaction on a subject which is both honourable and beneficial to humanity; nor is it foreign to my purpose to delineate examples of virtue in public or private life; in the latter it promotes the happiness of the individual, but in the former that of the community at large; and it is to be regretted, the state of mankind, even of the professors of christianity, is such, that history in general presents us with too few such worthy public-spirited characters.

William Penn's legislation is generally admired, while the religion which he professed is too generally treated with contempt; and yet it appears too me, that this despised religion chiefly contributed to the formation of the excellent legislator. His natural and acquired abilities were very considerable, his understanding clear and his judgment sound; yet in these qualifications, it is not to be doubted, many politicians have equalled or surpassed him; but having been induced, in pursuit of truth, and peace of mind, to disregard the opinion of the world, and attach himself to a body of people despised and ridiculed by it, because he thought he found the essence of pure religion in doctrine and practice maintained amongst them, he gradually experienced his heart regulated, and all the irregularity of the passions and affections, which produce disorder and discord, subdued by the power

CHAP. power of this inward principle, which convinceth
 XXVIII. of evil; and being illuminated thereby to keep
 1682. in view a higher object than the praise of men
 or worldly splendor, I believe his principal aim
 was in all his actions and proceedings to stand
 approved of his Maker, and to act in all respects
 as in his sight. In this refined state of mind,
 avarice, ambition, arrogance and wrath, (those
 corrupt sources of human action) have no in-
 fluence or dominion over the man; but con-
 sidering himself as the minister of God for
 good, his integrity, justice and benevolence are
 only bounded by the extent of his power to do
 good; and the superior advantages in the consti-
 tution of the government of William Penn seem
 to result from this, that whilst most others establish
 a religion conformable to human prudence or to
 the maxims of their policy, he made religion the
 rule and basis of his political regulations.

Furthermore, from the analogy between several
 of the institutions of his government and those
 of the discipline of his friends, it appears that
 his religious profession influenced him in his
 legislative capacity; their first concern being to
 take care of the poor, of widows and orphans,
 to discourage vice and immorality, to prohibit
 lawsuits among themselves, and to discour-
 age their members in going to law unne-
 cessarily with others, to promote peace and pre-
 vent differences as far as in their power; and
 if any arise amongst them relating to matters
 of property, they are not to go to law, but
 refer the difference to arbitrators indifferently
 chosen or appointed from amongst them-
 selves.

The purity of his religion is further manifested herein, that in the greatest honour of his public station he retained the meekness and humility of the private Christian, and that he looked upon his acquisition of this province chiefly as a gift of Divine Providence placing him in a capacity to promote the present and future happiness of many people; and that he directed his power to these beneficial purposes more than to the advancement of himself or his family in wealth or grandeur, is apparent from the following lines addressed by him about this time to a person who had made some invidious and unmerited reflections upon him :

CHAP.
XXVIII.
1682.

“ MY OLD FRIEND,

——— “ I could speak largely of God’s
“ dealings with me in getting this thing : what
“ an inward exercise of faith and patience it
“ cost me in passing. The travail was mine,
“ as well as the debt and cost, through the
“ envy of many, both professors, false friends,
“ and profane : My God hath given it me in
“ the face of the world, and it is to hold it in
“ true judgment, as a reward of my sufferings ;
“ and that is seen here, whatever some despisers
“ may say or think : the place God hath given
“ me, and I never felt judgment for the power
“ I kept, but trouble for what I parted with.
“ It is MORE than a worldly title or patent that
“ hath clothed me in this place.—Keep thy
“ place : I am in mine, and have served the
“ God of the whole earth since I have been in
“ it :


CHAP. " it: nor am I sitting down in a greatness that
 XXVIII. " I have denied.—I am day and night spending
 ~~~~~ " my life, my time, my money, and am not  
 1682. " six-pence enriched by this greatness: costs in  
 " getting, settling, transportation, and main-  
 " tenance, now in a public manner at my own  
 " charge, duly considered; to say nothing of my  
 " hazard, and the distance I am at from a con-  
 " siderable estate, and, which is more, my dear  
 " wife and poor children.

" Well!—the Lord is a God of righteous  
 " judgment. Had I sought greatness I had  
 " stayed at home, where the difference between  
 " what I am here, and was offered and could  
 " have been there, in power and wealth, is as  
 " wide as the places are: No, I came for the  
 " Lord's sake, and therefore have I stood to  
 " this day, well and diligent and successful,  
 " blessed be his power.—Nor shall I trouble my-  
 " self to tell thee what I am to the people of  
 " this place, in travails, watchings, spendings,  
 " and my servants every way, freely, (not like  
 " a selfish man) I have many witnesses. To  
 " conclude, it is now in friends hands; through  
 " my travail, faith and patience it came. *If*  
 " *friends here keep to God, and in the justice,*  
 " *mercy, equity and fear of the Lord, their ene-*  
 " *mies will be their footstool; if not, their heirs*  
 " *and my heirs too will lose all, and desolation*  
 " *will follow; \** but blessed be the Lord we are  
 " well, and live in the dear love of God, and  
 " the fellowship of his tender heavenly spirit;

\* This remarkable prediction hath been fully veri-  
 fied.

" and



“ and our faith is, for ourselves and one ano- C H A P.  
 “ ther, that the Lord will be with us a king XXVIII.  
 “ and a counsellor for ever. 

1682.





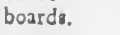
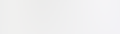
“ Thy ancient, though grieved friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.

“ Chester, 5th of the  
 “ 12th<sup>mo</sup>, 1682.”

## C H A P. XXIX.

*A temporary Meeting-house erected.—Philadelphia laid out and begun to be built.—Men's and Women's Meetings established.—Their Care for The Poor.—George Fox's Epistle to Friends of Pennsylvania.—John Burnyeat's Epistle to the same.—Account and Character of John Thomas, Francis Whitewell, Thomas Langborn and William Gibson.—William Penn returns to England.*

THE first settlers of this province were parti- C H A P.  
 cularly careful to keep up their meetings in the XXIX.  
 houses of the inhabitants, till they got a tempo-   
 rary meeting-house erected of boards, near the 1682.  
 banks of the Delaware, where their capital city   
 was designed to be built; and as they were   
 nearly united in brotherly affection to each   
 other, their meetings were held and conducted   
 to their mutual consolation and edification. In   
 their

A temporary meeting-house erected of boards.

C H A P. their intervals they were assistant to each other  
 XXIX. in building small houses for their present resi-  
 1682. dence, mostly by the side of the Delaware, till  
 their ability and leisure might enable them to  
 build more comfortable and substantial habita-  
 tions.

Philadel-  
 phia laid  
 out and be-  
 gun to be  
 built.

This was the beginning of the city of Phila-  
 delphia, a city, which for convenience of situ-  
 ation (between the navigable rivers Delaware  
 and Schuylkill), uniformity of design, and the  
 regularity of its plan, remains a lasting monu-  
 ment of the abilities of the founder, and his  
 unremitting attention to the convenience, satis-  
 faction and interest of the colony. The very  
 name seems to have been adopted from the ge-  
 nerous view of reminding the inhabitants of the  
 satisfaction and advantage of cultivating amity,  
 and a mutual good understanding between  
 themselves, which they continued long to che-  
 rish, to a degree sufficient to obtain the honour-  
 able testimony of sundry authors in their com-  
 mendation.

Men's and  
 women's  
 meetings  
 established.

Some little time after their establishing a  
 meeting of worship, William Penn and his  
 friends, from experience of the service and be-  
 nefit thereof in those parts from which they had  
 removed, determined to set about the establish-  
 ment of men's and women's meetings, after  
 the model of those in England. The first  
 monthly meeting of this kind fixed in and about  
 Philadelphia (to which the meeting at Schacka-  
 maxon was now joined, and Pinepoint to New-  
 ton) was held there the 9th day of the 11th  
 month this year. They agreed that the first  
 third

third day in every month should be the day for C H A P.  
 holding the monthly meeting in future for the XXIX.  
 city and county, and that every third meeting  
 should be the quarterly meeting for the same. 1682.

They proceeded next to the consideration of a suitable place to build a meeting-house, and the plan upon which it should be built; the expense whereof it was agreed should be defrayed by friends of the city: And whereas it was not improbable but some individuals might be reduced to want through sickness, the loss of their parents or relations, or the expenses attendant on so distant a removal and new settlement, their next care was to provide for the present supply of the exigencies of such, if such should be found, at the expense of the monthly meeting.

Their care  
of the poor  
to supply  
their ex-  
igencies.

This year George, Fox whose care was anxiously exercised over his friends for their good in every quarter of the world where they had fixed their residence, wrote an epistle to friends in this province and the adjacent provinces, advising them to liberality, justice, and open honesty in all affairs of commerce which they might be engaged in. Not to let avarice tempt them to take advantage of the circumstances of the times, or the necessity of those with whom they dealt, by enhancing their gain in exorbitant profits when provisions were scarce, but rather serve their neighbours by selling on moderate terms. On the other hand, when the prices were too low to give a profit equal to the necessary occasions of the proprietors, that they should purchase at an advanced rate, letting

G. Fox  
writes an  
epistle to  
friends of  
Pennsylva-  
nia.

CHAP. their moderation appear, and joining charity  
 XXIX. with justice; and having an eye more to the  
 1682. public good than private interest, might be the  
 means to procure themselves the divine blessing  
 upon their endeavours, and be of a good report  
 among their neighbours. That as justice  
 and open fair dealing procured them reputation,  
 and caused them an increase of trade, when  
 riches thereby increased, to be ware of setting  
 their hearts upon them, lest they should lose the  
 image of God, wherein the dominion over the  
 creatures is retained. He cautions them against  
 extending in trade beyond their capitals and  
 abilities to manage, with reputation and justice  
 to all men. To circumscribe themselves within  
 such limits, as that they might be punctual to all  
 their engagements, and pay every one his due  
 in due time. He further cautions them not to  
 let out their desires after extensive possessions  
 and greatness in the world, lest they should be  
 absorbed in the incumbrances thereof; like the  
 fool who had gotten much, and his barns being  
 too little, would build bigger, and then his  
 heart should be at rest, but did not live to see  
 the end of his hope, and was soon deprived of  
 all his possessions.

And as friends were, several of them, advanced, and like to be advanced into places of trust in government, and into the office of magistrates, he exhorts them earnestly to the practice of justice, righteousness, fidelity and mercy in the discharge of their trust, quoting abundance of exhortations from scripture, descriptive of the various duties of magistrates, and recommending them to their perusal and observation.

At



At the same time John Burnyeat wrote also to these provinces, by desire of the yearly meeting of London, giving them a satisfactory account of the state of said meeting, and of their receiving epistles from friends in several foreign parts, desiring them also, on behalf of the meeting, to write to the said meeting an account of their state, the prosperity of religion amongst them, and the circumstances of the affairs of the society in their several provinces, from their respective yearly or half-year's meetings, the latter end of the year, to be transmitted to the ensuing yearly meeting in London, which desire was complied with, and an annual correspondence between these colonies and the yearly meeting hath been continued thenceforward, and is continued still.

C H A P.

XXIX.

1682.

John Burnyeat's epistle.

In this year died John Thomas of Gwynedd in Pensylvania, who had removed thither with several others of his countrymen, from Larthguin in Merionethshire, whose character Hugh Roberts, his friend, acquaintance and countryman, hath drawn, to the following purport: He was a man distinguished above the generality of his neighbours in his native country, for the solidity of his understanding and excellency of his natural parts. In the year 1672 he was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, and this being a time of hot persecution, proved the sincerity of his motives for joining them in society; for immediately upon his first convincement he had his share of the sufferings to which the people whose profession he had adopted were exposed. The two first meetings he was at he was informed against and fined, and for these two fines, which could not

Account and character of John Thomas.

CHAP.  
XXIX.

1682.

not legally exceed 15s. the informers took from him two oxen and an horse, and returned nothing back. But he seemed to feel less for his own sufferings than those of his poor friends, inasmuch that he hazarded the loss of his own estate to save them and theirs; for the principal informer, a subtle man, and intent upon his prey, perceiving a reluctance in the high and petty constables to execute the warrants to the injury or ruin of their peaceable neighbours, had formed a project to get himself appointed high constable, in order to make his gains sure, and expedite the impoverishing or ruining of friends in their estates; and most of the magistrates of this age being too propense to give encouragement to the vilest characters, and invest them with power to do mischief to dissenters, which virtuous persons would not, gave this man hopes of success in his application. John Thomas, hearing of his design, and foreseeing the great loss and distress likely to accrue to friends thereby, applied himself to one of the more moderate justices, and requested he might be accepted for that office, which was granted. The informer upon this continued his informations against friends, and procured warrant after warrant for distraints, which he brought to the high constable to execute, but he being principled against it, told the informer he was responsible, and kept the warrants by him till they had got nine, expecting at the same time to be prosecuted by the informer, to his great loss or ruin in his outward circumstances; but Divine Providence, who directs the actions of men to his own wise purposes, rescued him from the impending suffering, for  
now

now the king's declaration for liberty of con- C H A P.  
science put a stop to the power and office of XXIX.  
those informers.

Being faithful, after some time he received a gift in the ministry, in the exercise whereof he became very serviceable amongst his friends in his native country, by whom he was greatly respected and beloved during his residence amongst them. At what time he removed to America doth not appear, but it is most probable in the emigration of last year, and that he did not long survive his removal. His sickness was tedious, but the weakness of his body did not diminish the strength of his love to pure religion, or to the prosperity of his friends and family therein, to whom he imparted many lively exhortations, during his indisposition, to religious care of their conduct in fidelity to God and man. A little before his departure he said to some friends present, " Friends, wait upon the Lord, for he is near;" and then expressed his resignation in this ejaculation: " Blessed be thy name, Lord God everlasting, thy will be done in earth as it is done in heaven." In this resigned temper he calmly took his leave of his friends present, giving his hand to them one by one, and in an heavenly frame of mind departed this life the 3d day of the 3d month, 1683.

In the beginning of the next year Francis Whitewell departed this life, who besides his services in the government, being one of the proprietor's council, was also very serviceable in a religious capacity, being an approved minister amongst his brethren, and a useful member of society in other respects. William Darvel was chosen

1682.

1684.  
Francis  
Whitewell.

CHAP. chosen to supply his place as counsellor for Kent  
XXIX. County.

1684.

Account  
and charac-  
ter of Tho-  
mas Lang-  
horn.

Bucks County began now to increase in settlements, and to extend back into the country, the earlier settlers having generally chosen to fix their residence along the side of the Delaware, both for the convenience of the river, and the neighbourhood of friends in West Jersey. They were already settled about as far back as Middletown, at which place a monthly meeting had been lately established. The first of that kind there was held at the house of Nicholas Waln, the 1st day of the 11th month last year; and several friends from Europe continuing to remove to this province, and settle in these parts, this neighbourhood soon became well improved. Amongst the rest Thomas Langhorn from Westmoreland, with several other friends from that county, landing in this colony, retired up hither to settle, and proved a valuable acquisition to this part of the province, being men inured to industry, and accustomed to agriculture: And some of them being men experienced in the work of religion and the discipline of the church, were well qualified for serviceable members of religious society, especially Thomas Langhorn, a man high in the esteem of his friends in his native country, for his religious labours and services amongst them, to which they bore ample testimony in the certificate they gave him upon his removal to America; from which it appears that the motive to this change of residence was of a more refined nature than a desire to move in a conspicuous sphere of life, or to acquire property, “for,” they say, “God hath made  
“him



“ him an instrument in his hand, for the help CHAP.  
 “ and comfort of many, and for the service of XXIX.  
 “ truth in the church of Christ. An elder that 1684.  
 “ hath ruled well, and is worthy of honour,  
 “ who in his own country hath a large share,  
 “ that he need not covet the enlargement  
 “ thereof elsewhere; and for outward posses-  
 “ sions, God hath given that plenty, and do-  
 “ minion over them in the divine life wherein  
 “ the blessing is obtained, to true content, so  
 “ that the glory or riches of this world he  
 “ hath no occasion to covet after.” It was a  
 religious concern of mind, and an inward per-  
 suasion of its being now his proper place to  
 settle in, that induced him to remove with his  
 family hither, as the place assigned for his fu-  
 ture ministerial labour, to promote amongst the  
 new settlers (besides a spirit of industry in cul-  
 tivating their plantations) an inward exercise in  
 the cultivation of religious dispositions, by the  
 help of that measure of grace of which they  
 were respectively partakers, which produceth a  
 life and conversation adorned with the uniform  
 practice of piety and moral virtue. He did not  
 survive his arrival very long. Having purchased  
 a plantation, and made some improvement on  
 it, in a few years after he was removed from  
 works to rewards, yet lived long enough amongst  
 them to make his loss sensibly felt, being here  
 also greatly beloved and esteemed by his friends  
 and neighbours.

And now William Penn having spent about W Penn  
 two years in his province of Pennsylvania, and return to  
 having settled this infant colony in a thriving England.  
 prosperous condition, returned to England some  
 months before the death of King Charles the  
 second,

CHAP. second, the period at which I dropped the history of this people in England, and which I now resume.

1684. 1684, William Gibson of London, an eminent minister, and member of this society, finished an useful and profitable life in the course of this year, in whose conversion there was something peculiarly remarkable. He was born at Caton in Lancashire about the year 1629, and during the civil wars enlisted as a soldier. Being in garrison at Carlisle, and hearing that a Quaker preacher had appointed a meeting in that city, he, in concert with three of his comrades, made an agreement to go to the meeting, with a design to insult and abuse the preacher; but William Gibson coming thither before his confederates, and the friend, who was Thomas Holmes, being in the course of his ministry, it was attended with such demonstration of power, as almost immediately wrought an effectual change in William's disposition, for he was so affected therewith, that instead of executing his intended purpose, he stepped up near to the friend to protect him from insult or abuse, if offered by any other. From that time he frequented the meetings of this society, and soon after quitted his military engagements, and employed himself in the occupation of a shoemaker; waiting upon God in silence, under the refining operation of his saving grace for about the space of three years: He afterwards received a dispensation of the gospel to preach to others. In the year 1662 he married, and settled in the precincts of Sankey meeting, near Warrington. He was a very serviceable man in that country while resident there, his doctrine being

Life of Wil-  
liam Gib-  
son.

being effectual to the convincement of some, CHAP. and to the confirmation of many others in the XXIX. truth, which he recommended in the authority of the gospel; so that when he removed from thence he left a good report and impressions of affectionate respect to his memory. 1684.

It fell to his lot with his brethren to suffer persecution for his testimony, in divers imprisonments, in personal abuses, and in loss of substance by various distrains. In the year 1660, at a meeting at Hinton in Herefordshire, many rude people and soldiers rushing in, pulled out those that were met, and meeting William Gibson in the street, just come to town on horseback, thronged about him. He told them that *he came in love to their souls*, and as he rode along exhorted them to repentance; when a rude fellow beat him and his horse unmercifully, after which they dragged him about in the dirt, and kept him with the rest under a guard all night, and next day sent two men to conduct them to Justice Blagny, charging them with holding an unlawful assembly, and breaking the king's peace: But the justice being of a different disposition from the generality of those of that age, judicious, reasonable and dispassionate, remarked, *That it was not probable they could be dangerous persons or peace breakers, who, being twenty-three in number, were brought to him with only two men to guard them*, and so civilly dismissed them.

In the 4th month, 1661, being on the road near Stanton in Shropshire, he was taken by a party of soldiers, and with twenty-three

CHAP. three of his friends, whom they had taken at  
 XXIX. several places, sent to prison, whence in a short  
 time they were escorted eight miles to the as-  
 1684. sises, and there discharged, all but William  
 Gibson, whom the judge recommitted, and he  
 remained in prison a considerable time, where  
 he was treated with great cruelty by the keeper,  
 who would not permit his food to be taken to  
 him, but he was obliged to draw it up by a  
 rope. The keeper also threw him down a pair  
 of stone stairs, whereby his body was greatly  
 bruised, and beat him to that degree that he was  
 sick near six months.

Afterwards he travelled southward on a religious visit to his friends and others in the work of the ministry, and was again imprisoned at Maidstone in Kent, where he was long confined. After he was released he went to London and settled there, removing his wife and family to that city, where his service was conspicuous, in a fervent zeal against hypocrisy, formality and libertinism, but in a strain of pathetic encouragement to the virtuous and religious mind, being instructed by the spirit of wisdom and a sound understanding to divide the word aright. His circumspect conversation was a seal to his ministry, and the example he set a confirmation to the doctrine which he taught.

He employed a part of his time in his imprisonment in writing epistles to his friends for their edification in righteousness, when he could not edify them by his ministry, as well as occasionally at other times; and was engaged in some controversies, particularly on the subject of tithes, in a treatise, intitled, *Tithes ended in Christ*; for his testimony against which he frequently



quently suffered the loss of property. He wrote several other treatises serviceable at the time. CHAP. XXIX.

In the fore-part of the year 1684, notwithstanding he was in a declining state of health, feeling an affectionate draft and engagement of mind to pay a religious visit to his native country, Lancashire, he travelled thither, and having performed this service, he was, in his return, seized with an ague and fever at Coventry, yet he reached his own habitation in London, and his indisposition continued upon him about three months, and terminated his life in this world. On his sick bed he exhorted friends who came to see him to “faithfulness and confidence in the Lord, and to the love of the brethren;” and testified against “that spirit which leads out of the unity into a selfish separation.” He left two sons and a daughter, for whose well-doing he discovered an anxious concern, by the frequent admonitions and important counsels he inculcated upon them in the time of his sickness, like Abraham, commanding his children and household after him to keep the way of the Lord. He died the 20th of the 9th month, 1684, at the age of fifty-five years, and his funeral was attended by many hundreds of friends and others, from their respect to his memory, to the burial ground belonging to the society in Bunhill Fields.

1684.



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# H I S T O R Y

## OF THE

# PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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## B O O K V.

From the Death of King CHARLES II. to the  
REVOLUTION.

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## C H A P. I.

*The Duke of York ascends the Throne.—Fictitious Address of the People called Quakers.—Remark thereupon.—First Application of the People called Quakers to King James.—Their suffering Case.—Friends of London draw up a more copious State of their Case to lay before Parliament.—The Duke of Monmouth lands in the West.—Defeated, taken and executed.—Rigorous Severity against his Adherents.—The King addresseth the Parliament in a magisterial Strain—Which excepts against his dispensing Power.—Friends of London renew their Solicitations in favour of those in Prison.—King's Order for their Release.*

C H A P.

I.

NOTWITHSTANDING the opposition which, during the late reign, had been made to the succession of the Duke of York, and the dread-  
ful

1684-5.  
The duke of York ascends the throne.

CHAP. ful apprehension conceived by many Protest-

I. tants of that event, yet immediately after the  
 decease of his brother he was proclaimed king,

1684-5. without the least tumult or shadow of opposition. On the first day of his reign he assembled a council at Whitehall, in his speech to which he disclaimed arbitrary principles, promised his protection to the Church of England and the liberties of the people. His speech was printed and read with applause. He received congratulatory addresses from most parts of the kingdom, many of them, as usual, couched in servile terms of adulation: Amongst the rest a fictitious address, remarked for its brevity, uncouthness and blunt familiarity of expression, hath been by Echard, and after him by Hume and others, published to the world for the address of the people called Quakers to King James upon his accession, conceived in the following terms: " We are come to testify our  
 " sorrow for the death of our good friend  
 " Charles, and our joy for thy being made our  
 " governor. We are told thou art not of the  
 " persuasion of the church of England no  
 " more than we, wherefore we hope thou wilt  
 " grant us the same liberty thou allowest thy-  
 " self. Which doing we wish thee all manner  
 " of happiness."

Fictitious  
 address of  
 the people  
 called Qua-  
 kers.

Remark  
 thereupon.

It is allowed that the members of this society ranked adulation and insincerity in the list of vices not allowable to them to practise; that they were not in the custom of paying complimentary addresses to any man; but that when their sympathetic regard to the sufferings of their friends, or the distressing feelings of their own, impelled them to apply for relief, on  
 which



which occasions chiefly they addressed their superiors, their addressees, though expressed in their plain manner, were comprized in respectful terms; void of flattery, but not indecent; unceremonious, but not uncivil.

C H A P.  
I.  
1685.

Immediately on King James's accession I find no account of their being in the number of the congratulatory addressers. The first address they presented, as far as appears, was in a very different style, on the like occasion with those which had influenced them to address the successive rulers from their first rise. King Charles at his death left near one thousand five hundred of them in prison, on various severe prosecutions; and notwithstanding we have seen petition upon petition presented to him for relief, few of them were attended with beneficial effect; so that a people, paying a strict regard to speaking truth from the heart, could hardly term him their good friend. But the grievous sufferings they had long endured with patience, and were still subjected to, induced them, particularly on every change of government, to apply to the new rulers, in hopes at last to excite them to commiserate their case, and to yield them redress.

Accordingly, about a month after this king's accession to the throne, George Whitehead, Gilbert Lathey and Alexander Parker waited upon him with the following address, and case of their friends :

C H A P.

I.

“ To King James the Second.

1685. “ The humble application of the people called Quakers.

First appli-  
cation of  
the people  
called Qua-  
kers to king  
James.

“ Whereas it has pleased Almighty God (by whom kings reign) to take hence the late king Charles the second, and to preserve thee peaceably to succeed, we, thy subjects, heartily desire that the giver of all good and perfect gifts may please to endue thee with wisdom and mercy, in the use of thy great power, to his glory, the king's honour and the kingdom's good. And it being our sincere resolution, according to our peaceable principles and conversation, (by the assistance of Almighty God) to live peaceably and honestly, as becomes true and faithful subjects, under the king's government, and a conscientious people that truly fear and serve God, we do humbly hope that the king's tenderness will appear, and extend with his power to express the same, recommending to his princely clemency the case of our present suffering friends hereunto annexed.

“ To the King.

“ The distressed case and request of the suffering people commonly called Quakers, humbly presented.

“ Shewing,

Their suf-  
fering case.

“ That according to accounts lately given, above fourteen hundred of the said people, both men

men and women, are continued prisoners in CHAP. I.  
 England and Wales, only for tender conscience toward Almighty God that made them. Many under sentence of premunire, and many near it, not for refusing the duty or substance of allegiance itself, but only because they *dare not swear*. Others under fines on the act of banishment. Many on writs of excommunication. Besides some hundreds have died prisoners, many by means of this long imprisonment since the year 1680, (as it is judged) thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving poor innocent families desolate, in distress and sorrow. These two hard winters, their confinement tending also to the destruction of many in cold holes and jails, their healths being greatly impaired thereby. Besides the violence and woful spoil made by merciless informers on the conventicle act, upon many convicted, unsummoned and unheard in their own defence, both in city and country; as also on *Qui tam* writs and other processes for 20l. a month, and two-thirds of estates seized *for the king*; all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry and industrious families. To some not a bed left, to others no cattle to till their ground or give them milk, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal; and all these and other severities done under pretence of *serving the king and the church*, thereby to force us to violate our consciences, and consequently to destroy our souls, which we are very tender of, as we are of our peace with God and our own consciences, though accounted as sheep for the slaughter. And notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we the said people do solemnly

CHAP. profess and declare, in the sight of the heart-  
 I. searcher, that we have nothing but good will  
 and true affection to the king, praying for his  
 1685. safety and the kingdom's peace. We have  
 never been found in any seditious or treasonable  
 designs, as being wholly contrary to our christian  
 principles and holy profession.

“ And knowing that *where the word of a king  
 is, there is power*, we in christian humility, and  
 for Christ's sake, intreat that the king will  
 please to find out some expedient for our relief  
 in these cases, from prisons, spoil and ruin.

“ And we shall, as in christian duty bound,  
 pray God for the king's welfare in this world,  
 and his eternal happiness in that which is to  
 come.

“ London, the 2d of the  
 1st month called March,  
 1684-5.”

Friends of  
 London  
 draw up a  
 more copious  
 state of  
 their case.

Soon after the friends of London drew up a  
 more copious state of their case and sufferings,  
 addressed to the king and both houses of par-  
 liament, wherein they recapitulate their grievous  
 sufferings in person and estate by no less than  
 ten penal laws\*, which for a long series of years  
 had

\* The statutes whereby this people suffered imprisonment  
 and spoil were the following, viz.

The 1st Eliz. ch. 2, for twelve pence a Sunday (so called).

The 5th Eliz. ch. 23, de excommunicato capiendo.

The 23d Eliz. ch. 1, for 20l. a month.

The 29th Eliz. ch. 6, for continuation.

The



had been rigorously put in force against them by adverse magistrates, frequently picking out of them, to gratify a causeless enmity, that law to prosecute them by, which they apprehended the most oppressive, clearly demonstrating the iniquity and multiplied hardships to which they were exposed, (which need not be recited, being such as have already been repeatedly recited in this work) and praying relief.

How far the parliament might be impressed by this affecting state of the sufferings of this oppressed people, with sentiments of compassion and equity, they had not the opportunity of discovering, nor, I imagine, had even the members of the society an opportunity of presenting it to them; for soon after their meeting their proceedings were interrupted by the news of the Duke of Monmouth's arrival on the western coast with three ships from Holland: The parliament, upon this intelligence, passed a vote that they would adhere to the king with their lives and fortunes, passed a bill of attainder against the duke, granted the king 400,000*l.* for suppressing the rebellion, and then the parliament adjourned.

CHAP.  
I.  
1685.  
G. White-head.  
Duke of Monmouth lands in the West.

This adjournment was in the fourth month, (June) and the parliament did not meet again till November. The summer was spent in quelling

The 35th Eliz. ch. 1, for abjuring the realm on pain of death.

The 3d James I ch. 4, Premunire.

The 13th and 14th King Charles II. against Quakers Transportation.

The 17th Charles II. ch. 2. against non-conformists.

The 22d Charles II. ch. 1. against seditious conventicles.

The 27th Henry VIII. ch. 20, for the recovery of tithes.

## CHAP.

## I.

1685.

Severities  
against the  
Insurgents.

quelling the rebellion, and taking vengeance rather than executing justice upon the unhappy insurgents, and with them upon many who had been guilty of no treason, and more who could not be legally convicted of any. The Duke of Argyle landed in Scotland, and endeavoured to raise a rebellion there something sooner than the Duke of Monmouth's landing in the west. Both of them were defeated, taken and soon executed; and great numbers of the followers of the latter were executed without the form of a trial, by the Earl of Feversham, and with savage wantonness by Colonel Kirk. Many others were tried, but very unfairly, by the forms of law, before a judge, who wantoned in cruelty, and triumphed in the misery of the unhappy victims who fell under his hands; and the king, by advancing Jefferies immediately after to the office of chancellor, participated in his infamy, and lost the affection of his subjects to a great degree, particularly of those in the western counties.

The King  
addresseth  
the parlia-  
ment in a  
magisterial  
strain.

Upon the second meeting of the parliament, the king, elated with the defeat of the insurgents, apprehended his power so firmly established as to bear down all opposition, and seemed determined to brook none. His speech and demands were delivered in a strain which shewed them that he was determined to be master. He demanded a supply to maintain an additional number of forces. He informed them he had employed several catholic officers, and that he had, in their favour, dispensed with the law requiring the test to be taken, and signified his resolution neither to expose them to disgrace,  
nor

nor himself to the want of their assistance, in CHAP. case of another rebellion.

The commons, having been elected under the influence of the court, were awed into compliance with his demands in part, and voted 700,000*l.* toward the augmentation of the army; but both lords and commons excepting against the king's dispensing power, as they had formerly to his brother, he was so piqued that an immediate prorogation followed, whereby, I apprehend, the people called Quakers were prevented of their intention of laying their case before the parliament; at least the parliament had no time to attend thereto. But being earnestly desirous to obtain the liberty of their imprisoned friends, the friends of London renewed their solicitations to the king for their liberation, and at length obtained the following warrant to Sir Robert Sawyer, attorney-general:

1.  
1685.

Both lords and commons except against his dispensing power.

Friends of London renew their solicitation in favour of their imprisoned friends.

“ JAMES R.

“ WHEREAS we are given to understand that The King's order for their release.  
“ several of our subjects, commonly called  
“ Quakers, in the schedules hereunto annexed.  
“ are either convicted, or upon process, in order  
“ to their conviction of premunire, for not  
“ swearing, or indicted or presented for not  
“ coming to church, or convicted for the same,  
“ and several of them have been returned into  
“ our Exchequer, and in charge for twenty  
“ pounds *per mensem*, according to the statutes  
“ in that case provided, and some of them lie  
“ in prison upon writs *de excommunicato capien-*  
“ *do*,

CHAP. “ *do*, and other proceſſes, for the cauſes afore-  
 I. “ ſaid; and we being willing that our ſaid  
 1685. “ ſubjects, and other our ſubjects commonly  
 “ called Quakers, who are or have been pro-  
 “ ſecuted, indicted, convicted, or imprifoned  
 “ for any of the cauſes aforeſaid, ſhould receive  
 “ the full benefit of our general pardon, which  
 “ we have been pleaſed to grant to our loving  
 “ ſubjects by our royal proclamation, with all  
 “ poſſible eaſe to them: our will and pleaſure  
 “ is, and we do hereby authorize, will and re-  
 “ quire you to cauſe ſuch of our ſubjects,  
 “ commonly called Quakers, who are in priſon  
 “ for any of the cauſes aforeſaid, to be forth-  
 “ with diſcharged out of priſon, and forthwith  
 “ to ſtop and diſcharge, or cauſe to be diſ-  
 “ charged, by giving your conſent on our be-  
 “ half, all fines, forfeitures, or ſums of money,  
 “ charged upon any of our ſubjects commonly  
 “ called Quakers, for not coming to church,  
 “ or ſet upon them upon any proceſs for the  
 “ ſame; as alſo all proceſſes, indictments, pre-  
 “ ſentments and convictions, for any of the ſaid  
 “ cauſes, by entering *noli proſequi*, or otherwiſe,  
 “ as you ſhall judge neceſſary for rendering  
 “ that our pardon moſt effectual and beneficial  
 “ for our ſaid ſubjects; and for your ſo doing  
 “ this ſhall be your warrant.

“ Given at our Court at Whitehall  
 “ the 15th Day of March, 1685-6,  
 “ in the ſecond year of our reign.

“ By his Maſteſty's Command,  
 “ SÜNDERLAND, P.

“ *To our truſty and well beloved*  
 “ *our Attorney-general.*”

Sir



Sir Robert being at this time at his country house in Hampshire, about forty miles from London, and friends of that city being earnest to expedite the release of their fellow-professors, requested George Whitehead and John Edge, accompanied by Rowland Vaughan, attorney, to undertake a journey thither, which they did accordingly, and were received and entertained by the attorney-general with great civility, till liberates could be made out by the attorney, under the attorney-general's directions for the prisoners in the city, which took up a good part of the day; by means whereof, after their return, their friends in the sundry prisons in the city obtained their liberty within the description of the warrant.

C H A P.  
I.  
1685.

Soon after the attorney-general returned to London, and then the said friends of the city exerted themselves to procure the like liberates with all possible expedition, whereby the discharge of the rest of the prisoners in the different parts of the nation, under the circumstances comprized in the king's warrant, was obtained.

## C H A P. II.

*The Complaint of Friends against the Informers.—They move for Commissioners to be appointed to examine the Truth of their Allegations,—Which is granted.—The Informers endeavour to get George Whitehead and others imprisoned.—The Commissioners draw up their Report.—To which George Whitehead objects,—And gets it amended.—Informers discouraged.*

## C H A P.

## II.

1686.

Friends'  
complaint  
and petition  
against in-  
formers.

AFTER the people called Quakers were released from imprisonment, they were still exposed to the ravages of the unprincipled informers. The king having condescended to admit them sundry times to his presence, and to attend patiently to the relation of their grievances; and having complied with their petition to release their imprisoned friends, they were encouraged to present the following complaint and petition against the informers and their iniquitous practices.

“ To King JAMES the Second.

“ The Complaint and Petition of his peaceable  
“ and suffering Subjects called Quakers in and  
“ about the City of London,

“ Humbly presenting,

“ That only for religious concerns, a great  
“ number of them continue fore oppressed in  
“ their

“ their estates on numerous convictions made  
 “ against them in their absence, often on false  
 “ depositions sworn by concealed informers,  
 “ divers of them confident women, who swear  
 “ for a part of the fines and seizures to main-  
 “ tain themselves and husbands, some of them  
 “ being prisoners for debt through their own  
 “ extravagancies : And by warrants frequently  
 “ issued out by Thomas Jennet, recorder of  
 “ London, to break open and enter houses, to  
 “ seize for the king, (as is pretended) which is  
 “ done with rigour and great spoil, and without  
 “ compassion to widows, fatherless, or poor fa-  
 “ milies who are sustained by their daily in-  
 “ dustry, not leaving them a bed to lie on, &c.  
 “ The fines only upon his warrants amounting  
 “ to many hundred pounds, besides what has  
 “ been suffered by others. And that when  
 “ appeal is made from the said recorder, as the  
 “ person convicting (as the law directs) he  
 “ being judge also upon the trial, altering the  
 “ record, and urging juries to find against the  
 “ appellant, divers appeals have proved inef-  
 “ fectual, and to their great damage, consider-  
 “ ing their charges and treble costs, &c. And  
 “ that also upon old convictions under king  
 “ Charles the second, then remaining unexe-  
 “ cuted, he now by new warrants entitles the  
 “ now king James the second to these griev-  
 “ ances ; besides the great numbers imprisoned  
 “ and crowded in jail by him and others for  
 “ the same cause, to the greatly impairing *their*  
 “ *healths and loss of some lives* ; witness Newgate  
 “ at this present.

“ Wherefore

CHAP. "Wherefore the said subjects humbly intreat  
 II. "the King, in his princely compassion and  
 1686. "wisdom, to put a speedy stop to these destruc-  
 "tive proceedings.

"Signed in behalf of the rest of the  
 "said sufferers,

|                   |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| " William Crouch, | " Samuel Bolton,   |
| " James Goodwin,  | " Timothy Emerfon, |
| " Thomas Lacy,    | " John Skelton."   |

They re-  
 quest Com-  
 missioners  
 may be ap-  
 pointed to  
 examine the  
 truth of  
 their allega-  
 tions,  
 which is  
 granted.

This petition was followed up by a request to the king to appoint commissioners to examine into the truth of the allegations, by giving the petitioners an opportunity of proving them to the informers faces. Their request was granted, and a commission was issued to Richard Graham and Philip Burton, Esqrs. who sent their summons to the informers, sufferers and witnesses to appear before them at Clifford's Inn the 4th of June, (so called) 1686.

On the day appointed the complainants and their witnesses appeared, and the informers also. As the people called Quakers had selected fifty-four cases; and the friends, whose cases had been so selected, being summoned to appear with their witnesses; when they came to Clifford's Inn, the informers being without door, at seeing so numerous a company appearing against them, expressed their malice in this ribaldry, suitable to their vulgar manners: *Here come all the Devils in Hell*; and observing George Whitehead, who had been instrumental to bring them to this disgraceful investigation, they cried out, *And there comes the old Devil of all.*

The



The first charge advanced against the informers was that *they had sworn falsely in fact*, which was clearly proved to their shame and confusion in no less than thirty-four cases; in divers of which they had given their information on oath against friends for being at meetings which they were not at; for holding meetings at certain places where there were none; swearing upon trust from one another's information on mere presumption. Several women informers took as much latitude in swearing as the men, and were equally unrestrained by conscience, law, or matter of fact as they. Their frequent perjuries being established by substantial evidence, to the full satisfaction of the commissioners and others, friends next proceeded to lay before them sundry cases; wherein the doors of houses and shops were broke open with violence by constables and informers, to make distrains severe and exorbitant, by which household and shop goods were carried away by cartloads. So many flagrant instances of perjury, devastation and spoil plainly appeared upon proof, that the commissioners were weary of hearing them, and adjourned the further proceeding for ten days, when they had got through scarce one fourth of the cases prepared to be laid before them.

At the second meeting of the commissioners, the informers fee'd a lawyer to plead for them and manage their cause; but the instances of their perjury and oppression, transgressing the bounds and severity of the conventicle act, severe as it was, were so numerous, and so well supported by evidence, that he was quickly silenced. At this second meeting, although they had

CHAP.  
II.  
1686.

CHAP. had not examined half the cases prepared for  
 II. their cognizance, the commissioners thought the  
 ~~~~~ allegation of the petition fully proved, and that  
 1686. they had sufficient grounds to make their report
 to the king.

The inform-
 ers at-
 tempt to
 procure the
 imprison-
 ment of G.
 Whitehead
 and others.

It seems proper to remark here the contrivance of the informers, to prevent some of the most active promoters of this enquiry from appearing against them at the second meeting of the commissioners. Having procured a warrant against George Whitehead, John Daw, William Ingram and John Vaughton, bearing date the 12th of June 1686, they were apprehended the 13th, (being the day before that appointed for the second meeting aforesaid) and taken to the Lord Mayor's, where they were kept several hours waiting for his coming from his worship, and afterwards detained several more, until the informers should come in to give evidence against them, but none appearing, about ten o'clock at night the mayor required them to be bound by recognizance to appear at the next sessions for the peace, and in the mean time to be of *good behaviour*. With this requisition they were not willing to comply, as implying misbehaviour, which was not proved against any of them. Upon their refusal, the mayor called them a company of coxcombs; and ordered a mittimus to be drawn to send them to prison; but on further consideration and consultation, took their words to appear at next sessions, and dismissed them for that time, whereby they were at liberty to attend the commissioners at their second meeting. And when they appeared at the sessions, no evidence appearing against them, they were discharged by proclamation.

The

The commissioners having drawn up their report, George Whitehead got a view of it, and objected to it, as very deficient and improper; being rather a proposal for limiting prosecutions to the less ruinous penal laws, than a plain state of matter of fact, according to the evidence before them, of the various perjuries, and illegal and injurious acts of the informers, one of the commissions informed him, that they found themselves engaged in a critical business, having received a message from a great person or persons in the church, soliciting them to do or report nothing that might invalidate the power of the informers, as they were of great service to the church. George Whitehead notwithstanding pleaded for justice to be done, in regard to matters of fact, in their report to the king, and prevailed upon them to amend it, and frame it more to the purpose.

CHAP.

II.

1686.

The commissioners draw up a report,

to which G. Whitehead objects,

and gets it amended.

The king, in cabinet the 11th of 5th month 1686, referred the report and case of the petitioners to the Lord Chancellor, in order to correct the irregular proceedings of some justices and the informers. Besides which he signified his * pleasure to the subordinate magistrates and justices,

informers discouraged.

* The following letter from the Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Huntingdon, I suppose, must have been written upon this occasion.

“ My Lord,

“ Whitehall, Dec. 7, 1686.

“ The king being informed that one *John Smith*, a common informer, doth very vexatiously prosecute the Quakers in the county of Leicester, and in the town and county of Nottingham; and his majesty being pleased to extend his favour to those

CHAP. justices, that they should put a stop to the de-
 II. predations of these men. Instead therefore of
 being encouraged and protected in their oppres-
 1686. sive persecutions, they were now discountenanced by the justices, and by the quarter sessions of London and Middlesex. And when it was now discovered that the protection and favour of the court was withdrawn from these vile persons, several of them being prosecuted by other dissenters, such a scene of iniquity and injustice was laid open, as caused several of them to fly the country; and the rest, when their trade was gone, were mostly reduced to beggary*; a blast remarkably attending their dishonest gains, and infamy blasting their reputation.

These informers had gradually risen to that height of insolence and audacity, as well as rapine, by the joint encouragement of the court

those of that persuasion, his majesty would have your grace direct the justices of peace to give no sort of countenance to the said John Smith, and his prosecution against the Quakers.

“ Your grace’s most faithful and humble servant,

“ SUNDERLAND, P.”

“ To the Right Hon. the Earl of Huntington,
 one of his majesty’s most honourable
 privy council, chief recorder of Leicester,
 custos rotularum of the county of Leicester.”

* George Whitehead informs us, that some time after the trade of informing was put a stop to, George Hilton, who had been a very vexatious informer to several friends in London, and to himself amongst the rest, came to his house, and complained, that he could get a place of service with a great person; but he wanted clothes, or money to buy some; and that he gave him some money, thus rendering good for evil.

and

and church (so called) i. e. the high church ecclesiastics, as hath been already remarked; but now when their secular support was taken away, the ecclesiastics, loth as they were to lose their service, were not able to support them singly, with the weight of the court against them; so they were obliged, though reluctantly to give them up.

II.

1686.

C H A P. III.

Another Grievance to which this Society was exposed, suffering as Popish Recusants.—Gives occasion to a fresh Application to the King for a Noli Prosequi, which is granted.—William Penn supposed a serviceable Assistant in procuring the King's Favour.—His Intimacy at Court subjects him to much Censure and Suspicion.—George Fox writes an Epistle to Friends on account of regaining their Liberty.—Account of David Barclay.—And Anne Whitehead.

THERE still remained another grievance, and a very severe and iniquitous one, unredressed, which hath been repeatedly noticed, i. e. the sufferings of friends, as popish recusants, particularly the act of 23 Eliz. for 20l. a month, for absence from their parish churches (so called); and that for two-thirds of their estates, were still carried into execution, whereby many friends

C H A P.

III.

1686.

Another grievance to which this people was exposed, suffering as popish recusants.

CHAP. were greatly impoverished in their substance
 III. and estates; being charged or estreated in the Ex-
 chequer, and writs annually issued out from
 1686. thence against them, to the several sheriffs, to
 make seizure of their goods and estates to sa-
 tisfy the confiscations; by virtue whereof, rude,
 unprincipled bailiffs, when they made their sei-
 zures would remain in the houses eating and
 drinking until all the goods were removed.
 These penal laws were as unjustly applied to the
 people called Quakers, as they were severe in
 the extreme, being made against popish recusants,
 which they were not.

They apply
 to the king
 for a *noli*
prosequi,
 who grants
 it.

They therefore made their third application to
 the king for a *Noli prosequi*, or stay of process
 in the Exchequer, which he was pleased to grant;
 and gave direction to the lord treasurer and at-
 torney-general, that no writs should be issued
 out of the Exchequer against friends on these
 accounts. The lord treasurer accordingly sent
 his warrant to the clerk of the pipe to forbear
 making out any process against any of the per-
 sons in the annexed list (being a list of friends
 under persecution) and if any process were made
 out, to supersede the same. They met with some
 difficulty from the clerks in the office, in rela-
 tion to the fees demanded, which appeared to
 them exorbitant; but at length bringing them
 to more reasonable terms, they got the business
 effected, whereby the great damage or ruin of
 some hundreds of friends was prevented, and
 many thousand pounds saved in their estates.

W. Penn
 supposed a
 serviceable
 assistant in
 procuring
 the king's
 favour.

Although I do not find William Penn's name
 amongst the applicants to the king, in these
 exertions for the relief of his friends from the
 grievous sufferings to which they were exposed,

I presume

I presume he might be very instrumental in cultivating a friendly disposition towards the society of which he was a member. For he having had an intimacy with the King, when Duke of York, for whom, excepting their difference in matters of religion, the duke had always discovered a personal respect and esteem, was induced by the repeated protestations he had heard him make, to believe he was really principled for granting liberty of conscience, and accordingly embraced the present opportunity of soliciting for the relief of his innocent and suffering friends; and that he might be the nearer on all occasions for serving them and others, took lodgings this year near Kensington.

And here his acquaintance and frequency at court, where it was generally thought those of the king's religion were most favourably received, subjected him to the undeserved censure of such as least knew him, as being a papist or jesuit, or at least of holding a correspondence with the jesuits at Rome; and this mistaken notion, was not entertained by the common people only, but began to get admission into the minds of some persons of better judgment; and amongst others his acquaintance John Tillotson (afterward Archbishop of Canterbury) having let in a suspicion of this nature, dropped some expressions, which were improved to his disadvantage. William Penn wrote a letter to him on the subject, which introduced a correspondence, terminating in Tillotson's full conviction that his suspicion was groundless*.

CHAP. III.

1686.

W. Penn's
intimacy at
court sub-
jects him
to much
censure and
suspicion.

* William Penn's life, page 92.

CHAP. The condescension and ready compliance of
 III. the king with these successive applications for relief, and the liberty they enjoyed thereby, however they may be viewed by others, were by this
 1686. body of people attributed neither to political projects, nor the king's compassion merely, but to proceed from a hand higher than the king's, which turns the actions, consultations and designs of men to his own wise and gracious purposes, who having in unsearchable wisdom permitted their faith and patience to be tried, was now, in his own time, pleased to work their deliverance: They were therefore thankful to the Supreme Being as the original cause, and to the king as the mediate administrator of the favour.

G. Fox writes an epistle of caution to friends, on occasion of regaining their liberty.

It was a great consolation to the members of this society, at their ensuing annual meeting in London, to have the company of many valuable friends, whose faces had not been seen there for many years, having been immured in prison, some of them twelve or fifteen years and upwards, for no crime, but endeavouring to keep a good conscience towards God. George Fox, who resided now mostly in and about London, being on every occasion watchful over his friends for good, wrote an epistle of caution to them, to beware of carelessness and lukewarmness, creeping in through the liberty with which they were now favoured, signifying “that the Lord by his
 “ power had influenced the king's heart to open
 “ the prison doors, whereby about one thousand
 “ five hundred are set at liberty; and to give
 “ a check to the informers, so that in many
 “ places meetings are pretty quiet. My desires
 “ are that both liberty and sufferings may all be
 “ sanctified

“ sanctified to his people; and friends may prize
 “ the mercies of the Lord in all things, and to
 “ him be thankful, who stilleth the raging waves
 “ of the seas, allayeth the storms and tempests,
 “ and maketh a calm.”

C H A P.

III.

1686.

In this year David Barclay departed this life at his house at Ury in Scotland, and by his ex-
 pressions on his death bed clearly manifested the
 great blessing and benefit of having through life
 an eye to this awful closing scene; in considera-
 tion whereof he was endued with fortitude to
 deny himself of the vanity, the splendour and
 honour of this world, to a considerable share of
 which his rank in life might have intitled him,
 in search of true piety and peace of mind, a-
 mongst a people despised, and every where spoken
 against. In the latter end of September this
 year, being the seventy-sixth year of his age, he
 was taken ill of a fever, and was also afflicted
 with the gravel, which continued upon him for
 two weeks; during which time he discovered a
 quiet and contented mind, in no wise disturbed
 with the prospect of the future; for which he
 had been mindful to prepare through the course
 of his life. He was preserved in resignation and
 patience under great pain, being supported under
 the feeling of a lively hope of shortly attaining
 admission into the mansions of felicity, unallay-
 ed with sorrow or pain. Two days before his
 death he said to his son Robert, *I shall go to the
 Lord, and be gathered to many of my brethren,
 who are gone before me.* The next morning early,
 his said son watching by him, and expressing his
 desire, *that he who loved him might be near him
 to his end,* he answered, *the Lord is nigh me.*
 And, as comforted in the prospect of his son's
 succeeding

Account of
 David Bar-
 clay.

CHAP. succeeding him, in a life of piety, virtue and religious conversation, he said, *the perfect discovery of the day-spring from on high, how great a blessing hath it been to me and my family!* The apothecary who attended him, visiting him in the course of his employment, he took him by the hand and said, *thou wilt bear me witness, that in all this exercise I have not been curious to pamper the flesh.* To which the apothecary replied, *Sir, I can bear witness, that you have always minded the better and more substantial part; and I rejoice to see the blessed end the Lord is bringing you to.* In the afternoon several of his friends came to see him; he said, they came in a seasonable time, and after some words were spoken, and Patrick Levingstone had prayed, the sick man lift up his hands and said, *Amen, Amen for ever!* Adding, *how precious is the love of God among his children, and their love one to another! thereby shall all men know that ye are Christ's disciples, if ye love one another. My love is with you, and I leave it among you.* Several of his friends standing round his bed, perceiving some of them shedding tears, he said, "dear friends, all mind the inward man, heed not the outward." There is one that doth reward, "the Lord of Hosts is his name." His last expressions were uttered in prayer. "Praises to the Lord. Let now thy servant depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father, I commit my soul, spirit and body. Thy will, O Lord, be done, in earth, as it is done in heaven." And soon after he breathed his last.

And notwithstanding he had desired, that he might be interred without much parade, and that not many should be invited to his funeral,
his

his remains were attended to the grave by a numerous train, particularly of the higher rank, who, from the regard they bore to his memory, came uninvited, to pay this last office of respect thereto. C H A P.
III.
1686.

This year also Anne Whitehead, wife of George Whitehead, mentioned in this work oftner than once, by the name of Anne Downer, departed this life; a woman religiously inclined from her early youth, who followed the most approved preachers, and used the best means, as far as she could discover them, to insure her present and future peace and happiness^a; and when the ministers, bearing the reproachful name of Quakers, came to the city of London, where she dwelt, she was one of the first who received their ministry, and was distinguished there by that name of reproach. Being convinced of the inward principle of the grace of God, she yielded obedience to the convictions thereof; and by laying aside not only manifest evils, but every thing, which, by the light she was favoured with, was discovered to be an idol of her affections, or an obstacle to her progress in religion; through many trials and sufferings she experienced a growth therein, and in due time was called and qualified to preach to others from her own experience of the work of sanctification. Being sent for to attend George Fox and his fellow-prisoners at Launceston in 1656, as before remarked, she travelled thither on foot, two hundred miles, and in that journey was instrumental to convince many of the truth of the doctrine she published, some of whom were of account in the world. And in her return she confirmed and established several who were newly

^a J. Whiting.

CHAP. newly convinced; and in the year 1658, she
 III. travelled in the southern counties, and the isle
 of Wight. She was married first to Benjamin
 1686. Greenwell, a grocer in Bishop's-gate-street, and
 afterwards to George Whitehead. She was a
 woman remarkably conspicuous in her day for
 her singular piety, benevolence and charity, adorned
 with the wisdom which is from above, pure, peaceable,
 gentle and easy to be entreated, *full of mercy and full of good fruits*; spending
 much of her time in visiting the poor, the imprisoned,
 the sick, the fatherless and the widows, in their afflictions,
 and taking care that nothing might be lacking for their relief.
 In tender sympathy with the afflicted, willingness
 to distribute, readiness to communicate, and zealous
 exertions to do good to others, she had few equals;
 so that it might be said of her, *though many daughters have done virtuously*, she
 (in some respects) exceeded them all. She was justly
 esteemed an ornament to her profession, for which she
 undauntedly suffered, when it fell to her lot. She held
 her integrity to the last. When she was visited with her
 last sickness, she was removed out of London, about six
 miles, and her disorder increasing upon her, she perceived
 it was like to prove mortal; but the apprehension of
 her approaching end occasioned no terror or perturbation
 in her well-prepared mind, having filled up her place in
 the creation, she seemed in a good measure prepared to
 receive the sentence of, "Well done, good and faithful
 servant—enter into the joy of thy Lord;" under the animating
 prospect whereof, she signified her resignation and lively
 hope in sundry savory and affecting expressions to her
 friends, who came
 to

to visit her on her death bed. To her ancient friend Mary Stout, who asking, if she knew her, she replied, "Yes, very well, it is Mary Stout. III.
1686.
 "I have my memory very well, and my understanding is clear, though I am very weak;
 "but I am given up to the will of the Lord,
 "whether to live or to die; for I have been
 "faithful to him in what I knew, both in life
 "and death." Perceiving some in trouble concerning her, she said, "There is no cause for
 "you to be troubled or concerned, for I am
 "well and in peace." To another visitor, "If
 "I never see thy face more, it is well with me—
 "God knoweth my integrity, and how I have
 "been, and walked before him." At another time, nearer her dissolution, "I have done with
 "all things in this life, and have nothing that
 "troubles me; but am in true peace and ease
 "every way." She thus departed in peace the 27th of the 5th month 1686, about sixty-three years of age, leaving impressions of affectionate regard to her memory in the hearts of many, to whom she had been helpful by her ministerial, or by her charitable services.

C H A P. IV.

Informers and their Abettors in danger, through an Enquiry into their Application of the Fines they had recovered.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantz.—Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.—For which the Dissenters present Addresses of Thanks to the King.—Address of the People called Quakers of the City of London.—Second Address from the yearly Meeting on Behalf of the Body at large.—Both the King and the Dissenters desire the Repeal of the Penal Laws, but with different Views.—Application to the Prince of Orange in favour of the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test.—He is willing the former should be repealed, but not the latter.—Second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.—Ordered to be distributed by the Bishops, to be read in all Churches and Chapels.—Seven of them shew the Reasons why they cannot comply.—For which they are imprisoned in the Tower.—Robert Barclay hath a Conference with the Bishops in the Tower.—Persecution subsides.—The People called Quakers petition the King for Relief in respect to their Sufferings for Tithes.

CHAP. IV. **T**HE people called Quakers and other dissenters being thus providentially rescued from the tyranny of persecuting justices, high-churchmen and informers, these persecutors were now made
 1687. to

to feel a little of the uneasiness they had, in CHAP. the wantonness of power^a, abundantly occasioned IV. to others without pity and without mercy. The king, probably from the aforesaid discovery of the practices of the informers and their confederates, appointed commissioners to enquire what money had been raised, or what goods had been seized by distress on dissenters on prosecutions for recusancy, and not brought to account in the Exchequer, and what money or goods had been received for any matters relating to religion since September 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all persons, who had seized goods or received money. This struck a terror into the whole tribe of informers, the justices and others connected with them, who were ill provided to make up their accounts, being generally poor or extravagant, they are said to have mostly shared the booty amongst themselves, without either giving to the king or to the poor the share appointed by law; so that if prosecuted they were threatened with ruin from this enquiry^b; but it doth not appear the protestant dissenters were forward to appear against them, it being reported that assurances were given by leading persons, both clergy and laity, that if they would not appear no such methods should be pursued in future.

The dread and aversion which the people of England entertained of the Romish religion received additional strength and influence by an occurrence which happened this year. Louis the Fourteenth revoked the edict of Nantz, which

1687.
Informers and their abettors brought into danger by an enquiry into their application of the fines they had recovered.

Revocation of the edict of Nantz.

^a Neale.

^b Neale.

CHAP. which had been published by Henry the Fourth
 IV. for the security of the protestants, and which
 1687. had been declared irrevocable. They were
 immediately distressed by all the rigours of persecution, whereby multitudes of them were driven to seek in foreign nations an asylum from the severities inflicted upon them at home. Near fifty thousand took refuge in England, and brought such dismal accounts of the cruel treatment they had undergone, as produced in all the protestants the utmost abhorrence of the sanguinary, cruel and perfidious spirit of popery. The king's friendly reception and protection of the fugitives, and his affecting highly to blame the king of France, were ineffectual to cure his subjects of their jealousy of him, or their antipathy to his religion.

The king's
 declaration
 for liberty of
 conscience.

The forepart of the succeeding year king James published a declaration for liberty of conscience to all his subjects, ordering that henceforth the execution of all penal laws concerning ecclesiastical affairs, for not coming to church, for not receiving the sacraments, or for any other non-conformity with the established religion, or for performing religious worship in any other way, should be suspended.

Although this liberty was only granted by the king himself, and the parliament when assembled might call his power in question, as they had done his brother's in the like case, yet the dissenters of every class, wearied out with the length and severity of their sufferings under the tyranny of the church (so called), being less attentive, perhaps, at this time to any sinister view which might give rise to it, or to the legality of it, than rejoicing at the
 state

state of ease they found themselves in, presented addresses of thanks to the king for his said gracious declaration; and the people called Quakers of the city of London, seeing that those of other persuasions had gone up to court with such addresses, that they might not seem less sensible of the relief which they, who had suffered more severely than any others, received, thought it expedient also to wait upon the king with the following address:

CHAP.
IV.

1687.
For which the dissenters present addresses of thanks.

“ To King James II. over England, &c.

“ The humble and thankful address of several
“ of the king’s subjects, commonly called
“ Quakers, in and about the city of London,
“ on behalf of themselves and those of their
“ communion.

“ May it please the King,

“ Though we are not the first in this way,
“ yet we hope we are not the least sensible of
“ the great favours we are come to present the
“ king our humble, open and hearty thanks
“ for, since no people have received greater
“ benefits, as well by opening our prison-doors,
“ as by his late excellent and christian declaration for liberty of conscience, none having
“ more severely suffered, nor stood more generally exposed to the malice of ill men upon
“ the account of religion; and though we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a persecuted and grateful people, yet we must needs say it doth the less surprise us, since it is what some of us have
“ known

Address of the people called Quakers in the city of London.

CHAP. " known to have been the declared principle of
 IV. " the king, as well long before as since he came
 ~~~~~ " to the throne of his ancestors.

1687.

" And as we rejoice to see the day that a  
 " king of England should, from his royal seat,  
 " so universally assert this glorious principle,  
 " that conscience ought not to be constrained,  
 " nor people forced for matters of mere reli-  
 " gion (the want of which happy conduct in  
 " government has been the desolation of coun-  
 " tries and reproach of religion), so we do,  
 " with humble and sincere hearts, render to  
 " God first, and the king next, our sensible  
 " acknowledgments; and because they cannot  
 " be better expressed than in a godly, peace-  
 " able and dutiful life, it shall be our endea-  
 " vour (with God's help) always to approve  
 " ourselves the king's faithful and loving sub-  
 " jects; and we hope that after this gracious  
 " step the king hath made towards the union of  
 " his people and security of their common in-  
 " terest has had a due consideration, there will  
 " be no room left for those fears and jealousies  
 " that might render the king's reign uneasy, or  
 " any of them unhappy.

" That which remains, great prince, for us  
 " to do, is to beseech Almighty God (by whom  
 " kings reign and princes decree justice) to  
 " inspire thee more and more with his excel-  
 " lent wisdom and understanding, to pursue  
 " this christian design of ease to all religious  
 " dissenters with the most agreeable and lasting  
 " methods; and we pray God to bless the king,  
 " his royal family and people with grace and  
 " peace, and that after a long and prospe-  
 " rous

“ rous reign here, he may receive a better C H A P.  
 “ crown amongst the blessed. IV.  
 “ Which is the prayer of, &c.”

~~~~~  
 1687.

This address met with a favourable reception ; but being presented by friends of London only, at the ensuing yearly meeting held in that city, constituted of representatives from the several parts of the nation, a second address was drawn up in the name and on behalf of the community at large, deputing amongst others William Penn to deliver it, who introduced the delivery with the following speech :

“ May it please the King,

“ It was the saying of our blessed Lord to
 “ the captious Jews in the case of tribute, *ren-* Second ad-
 “ *der to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to* dress from
 “ *God the things that are God's.* As this dis- the yearly
 “ tinction ought to be observed by all men in meeting of
 “ the conduct of their lives, so the king has London, on
 “ given us an illustrious example in his own behalf of
 “ person that excites us to it : for while he was the body at
 “ a subject, he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now large.
 “ he is a Cæsar, he gives God his due, viz. *the*
 “ *sovereignty over consciences.* It were a great
 “ shame, then, for any Englishman (that pro-
 “ fesses christianity) not to give God his due.
 “ By this grace he has relieved his distressed sub-
 “ jects from their cruel sufferings, and raised
 “ to himself a new and lasting empire, by add-
 “ ing their affections to their duty : and we pray
 “ God to continue the king in this noble resolu-
 “ tion ; for he is now upon a principle that has
 “ good-nature, christianity, and the good of civil
 “ society

C H A P. “ society on its side; a security to him beyond
IV. “ the little arts of government.

1687.

“ I would not that any should think that we
“ came hither with design to fill the Gazette with
“ our thanks; but as our sufferings would have
“ moved stones to compassion, so we should be
“ harder, if we were not moved to gratitude.

“ Now since the king’s mercy and goodness
“ have reached to us throughout the kingdom
“ of England, and principality of Wales, our
“ general assembly from all those parts, met at
“ London about our church affairs, has appoint-
“ ed us to wait upon the king with our humble
“ thanks, and me to deliver them; which I do
“ by this address, with all the affection and re-
“ spect of a dutiful subject.”

The A D D R E S S.

“ To King JAMES the Second, over England,
&c.”

“ The humble and grateful acknowledgment of
“ his peaceable subjects called Quakers, in
“ this kingdom.

“ From their usual yearly meeting in London,
“ the 19th day of the 3d month, vulgarly
“ called May, 1687.

“ We cannot but bless and praise the name
“ of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of
“ princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the
“ king to hear the cries of his suffering subjects
“ for conscience sake: And we rejoice that in-
“ stead

C H A P.

IV.

1687.

“stead of troubling him with complaints of our
 “sufferings, he hath given us so eminent an oc-
 “casion to present him with our thanks: And
 “since it hath pleased the king, out of his great
 “compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted
 “condition, which hath so particularly appear-
 “ed by his gracious proclamation, and warrants
 “last year, whereby twelve hundred prisoners
 “were released from their severe imprisonments,
 “and many others from spoil and ruin in their
 “estates and properties; and his princely speech
 “in council, and christian declaration for liberty
 “of conscience, in which he doth not only ex-
 “press his aversion to all force upon conscience,
 “and grant all his dissenting subjects an ample
 “liberty to worship God, in the way they are
 “persuaded is most agreeable to his will, but
 “gives them his kingly word the same shall
 “continue during his reign; we do (as our
 “friends of this city have already done) render
 “the king our humble, christian and thank-
 “ful acknowledgements, not only in behalf of
 “ourselves, but with respect to our friends
 “throughout England and Wales: And pray
 “God, with all our hearts, to bless and pre-
 “serve thee, O king, and those under thee, in
 “so good a work: And as we can assure the
 “king it is well accepted in the several coun-
 “ties from whence we came, so we hope the
 “good effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and
 “prosperity of the kingdom, will produce such
 “a concurrence from the parliament, as may
 “secure it to our posterity in after-times: And
 “while we live, it shall be our endeavour
 “(through God’s grace) to demean ourselves,
 Vol. III. N “as,

CHAP. "as, in conscience to God, and duty to the
IV. "king, we are obliged,

1687.

"His peaceable, loving and faithful subjects."

The K I N G 's Answer.

"Gentlemen,

"I thank you heartily for your address: Some
"of you know (I am sure you do, Mr. Penn)
"that it was always my principle, that consci-
"ence ought not to be forced; and that all
"men ought to have the liberty of their con-
"science: And what I have promised in my de-
"claration, I will continue to perform as long
"as I live: And I hope, before I die, to settle it
"so, that after-ages shall have no reason to alter
"it."

Some have objected against our friends and
other dissenters, for addressing king James, upon
the aforefaid declaration of indulgence, as though
they had thereby countenanced the king's dis-
pensing with the laws in general: Let such ob-
serve their imputation, as to the people called
Quakers, sufficiently guarded against in that part
of their address, where they say, "We hope
"the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade
"and prosperity of the kingdom may produce
"such concurrence from the parliament, as
"will secure it to our posterity."

Many of this people, being themselves men of
sincerity and simplicity of heart, might apprehend
the king to be in earnest in his professions
in favour of liberty of conscience.

Yet

Yet from their experience in the former reign, of the precarious duration of such indulgence, without the sanction of an act of the whole legislature, they looked upon the liberty granted them uncertain and insecure, until it should be ratified by the two houses of parliament, whose concurrence they esteemed requisite to give stability and permanency to the privileges they now enjoyed; accordingly they properly express their gratitude to the king for what he had done in their favour, and modestly hinted their sentiments of what they apprehended yet wanting to be done to complete the favour.

But although the dissenters, as well as the king, were desirous that the repeal of the penal laws might receive a parliamentary sanction, yet the ends they had respectively in view were such as to prevent a cordial coalition. James's design became every day more and more clearly apparent, to center entirely in the promoting and establishing of popery in the nation, to which the dissenters were no less averse than the established church; and notwithstanding the ease and even favours which they enjoyed, under the present disposition of the king towards them, yet they began clearly to perceive all these flattering measures were ultimately designed in favour of the Romanists; and therefore they placed but little confidence in the king's favours, and cautiously abstained from lending their assistance to measures, the design of which they did not inwardly approve.

Notwithstanding the king had prohibited the protestant preachers to meddle with controverted points, several of them continued their exertions in the protestant cause; the king, provoked

CHAP.
IV.
1687.
Although the dissenters desired a repeal of the penal laws, as well as the king, yet their views appear widely different.

CHAP.

IV.

1687.

at this opposition, broke all measures with the church, so called; he erected a new ecclesiastical commission, to enforce obedience to his mandates. He sent an ambassador to Rome, to acknowledge his spiritual obedience to the Pope, and reconcile his kingdoms to him. A popish nuncio was sent to London, who made his public entry at Windsor, with all the usual formalities. He attempted to force papists into the Universities, and succeeded at Oxford. By all these arbitrary acts he shocked the sentiments of his subjects, confirmed their abhorrence of his measures, and precipitated his own downfall.

Application
to the
prince of
Orange in
favour of
the repeal
of the penal
and test
acts,

As the dissenters in general were well affected to the Prince of Orange, and the nation regarded the princess as heir apparent to the crown, the king next directed, that their sentiments might be procured upon the subject, in hopes that if the prince should declare in their favour, it might have a beneficial influence on the deliberations of a parliament. The prince, naturally of a reserved temper, was not forward to intermeddle in the matter; but at last, lest silence might be imagined an acquiescence, the pensionary Fagel was authorized to convey the sentiments of himself and the princess, through the hands of Stuart, who had corresponded with him on the subject, which were afterwards published to the nation, the purport of which was, that they were willing to assent to the repeal of the penal laws, as far as they laid any restraint on the free liberty of the conscientious exercise of religious worship, which they were willing should be enjoyed in the fullest extent; but as for the test, and those laws which debarred the papists from sitting in parliament, or getting into places

who is willing to assent to the repeal of the penal laws, but not of the test.

of

of trust and profit in government, they could by no means agree to the repeal of these, as they were not like the others, laws of punishment or persecution, but merely a necessary security of the protestant religion. When this was published, it gave the protestants fresh spirits and encouragement; but very much disgusted the king.

CHAP.
IV.
1687.

When these attempts failed, the king, determinedly bent on carrying his point, and mortifying the church of England, from whom the weight of opposition arose, on the 27th of the 2d month April 1688, published a second declaration for liberty of conscience, fuller than the

1688.
Second declaration for liberty of conscience,

former, exciting his subjects to accede to it, and to chuse such members of parliament as might do their parts to finish what he had begun, signifying his resolution to convene a parliament to meet in November next; with an order of council annexed for reading his declaration in all churches and chapels, and directions to the bishops to distribute the same through their dioceses to be read accordingly; but the bishops, unwilling to be the instruments of undermining their own interests, and those of their church, mostly declined compliance with this humiliating and disagreeable mandate. Seven of them being in London, and consulting together what expedients to use on this critical occasion, came to a resolution, to present an humble representation to the king, of the reasons why they desired to be excused from complying with this order of council, alledging that the averfeness they found in themselves against it, proceeded neither from want of duty and obedience to their sovereign, nor of due tenderness to dis-

directed the bishops to distribute the same to be read in all churches and chapels,

Seven bishops decline compliance.

senters;

CHAP.

IV.

1688.

who are
committed
prisoners to
the tower.

senters; but because it was founded upon such a dispensing power as had been repeatedly declared by the Parliament to be illegal.

Although they waited personally upon the king with their petition, without communicating the contents to any person whatsoever, and presented it to the king's own hand, he resented it to such a degree, that they were committed prisoners to the tower of London. This extraordinary proceeding occasioned a great alarm among the people. The petition, on the other hand, was published by authority, with satirical remarks, setting forth, that though the bishops had without tenderness or mercy exercised many inhuman cruelties upon the dissenters, they promise now to come to a temper*, but it is only such an one as they themselves should settle in convocation; and though they had all along vigorously endeavoured to advance the regal power above all law, when it was strained to the oppression of dissenters, yet now, when exerted for their ease, (as in 1672) they want to limit it by law, that the laws for persecution may retain the wonted force. †

R. Barclay,
in a conference
with the imprisoned
bishops,
proves that
some of
their order
had kept
friends in
prison 'till
their death.

And notwithstanding the public temper was warm in favour of the bishops, yet the late severities, of some of their order against the dissenters, particularly the Quakers (so called) occasioning some reflections which came to their ears, they alledged, *That the Quakers belied them, and reported that they (the bishops) had been the cause of the death of some.* Robert Barclay hearing of this, paid a visit to the bishops in the tower, and in a conference with them

* Neale

† Sewel.

them upon the subject, gave them undeniable proofs of some persons, who by order of bishops had been detained in prison until death, though they had been apprized of their danger by physicians who were no Quakers. This was so manifestly evidenced that the bishops were not able to contradict it; yet Robert Barclay told them, that since, through change of circumstances, they themselves were now under oppression, it was by no means the intention of the people called Quakers to publish such incidents, or to give the king or their adversaries any advantage against them thereby. And they were accordingly very careful to refrain from every measure in word and deed that might in any respect aggravate the case of the prisoners, as esteeming it no time to revive old animosities, when the common enemy was seeking an advantage.

C H A P.
IV.
1688.

In the present state of the nation, both the king and the members of the established church endeavouring to gain the dissenters to their side, persecution subsided, and they enjoyed liberty of conscience without molestation. In these circumstances the people called Quakers thought it convenient at their yearly meeting in London this summer to draw up another address to the king, upon a subject which still rendered them exposed to trouble and considerable detriment. This address they presented to him, which was as followeth;

Persecution
subsides.

The Quakers, to call-
ed, petition
the king to
relieve them
from suffer-
ings for
oaths, and
in the case
of oaths.

“To

C H A P.

IV.

1688.

" To King James the Second, over England, &c.

" The humble address of the people called
 " Quakers, from their yearly meeting in
 " London, the 6th day of the month called
 " June, 1688:

" We, the king's loving and peaceable sub-
 " jects, from divers parts of his dominions,
 " being met together in this city, after our
 " usual manner, to inspect the affairs of our
 " christian society throughout the world, think
 " it our duty humbly to represent to him the
 " blessed effects the liberty he has graciously
 " granted his people, to worship God according to
 " their consciences, hath had, both on our per-
 " sons and estates; for whereas formerly we
 " have ever had long and sorrowful lists
 " brought to us from all parts almost of his
 " territories, of prisoners, and the spoils of
 " goods, by violent and ill men, upon account
 " of conscience, WE BLESS GOD AND THANK
 " THE KING the jails are every where clear,
 " except in cases of tithes and the repairs of
 " parish churches, and some few about oaths;
 " and we do in all humility lay it before the
 " king to consider the hardships our friends
 " are yet under for conscience-sake in those
 " respects, being in the one chiefly exposed to
 " the present anger of the offended clergy,
 " who have therefore lately imprisoned some of
 " them 'till death; and in the other, they are
 " rendered very unprofitable to the public and
 " themselves, for both in reference to freedoms
 " in

C H A P.
IV.
1688.

“ in corporations, probates of wills and testa-
“ ments, and administrations, answers in Chan-
“ cery and Exchequer, trials of their just titles
“ and debts, proceeding in their trade at the cus-
“ tom-house, serving the office of constable, &c.
“ they are disabled, and great advantages taken
“ against them, unless the king’s favour do inter-
“ pose; and as we humbly hope he may relieve
“ us, so we confidently assure ourselves he will
“ ease us what he can.

“ Now since it has pleased thee, O king, to re-
“ new to all thy subjects, by thy last declaration,
“ thy gracious assurances to pursue the establish-
“ ment of this christian liberty and property up-
“ on an unalterable foundation, and in order to
“ it to hold a parliament in November next at
“ farthest.”

“ We think ourselves deeply engaged to
“ renew our assurances of fidelity and affection,
“ and with God’s help intend to do our parts
“ for the perfecting so blessed and glorious a
“ work, that so it may be out of the power of
“ any one party to hurt another upon the ac-
“ count of conscience. And as we firmly believe
“ that God will never desert this just and righte-
“ ous cause of liberty, nor the king in main-
“ taining of it, so we hope by God’s grace to
“ let the world see we can honestly and heartily
“ appear for liberty of conscience, and be inviola-
“ bly true to our own religion, whatever the folly
“ or malice of some men on that account may
“ suggest to the contrary.”

This address being presented to the king was
well received; but before the time proposed for
holding a parliament arrived, he found it out
of

C H A P. IV. of his power to redress their grievances, if he were so inclined, or support himself on his throne. The legal confirmation of their present liberty, and their effectual deliverance from the hardships and inconveniences, which they experienced from their conscientious scruple against taking oaths, were reserved for the reign of his successor.

C H A P. V.

The seven Bishops tried and acquitted.—The Queen reported to be delivered.—Prince of Orange invades England.—King James flies to France.—The Prince and Princess of Orange declared King and Queen of England.—William Penn falls under the groundless Suspicion of being a Papist or Jesuit.—William Popple's Letter to him thereupon.—His Answer.—William Penn summoned before the Lords of Council.

C H A P. V. THE bishops, who had been imprisoned in the tower, were brought to their trial at the king's bench bar, for publishing a seditious libel, and acquitted. The rejoicings of the people upon this occasion were so loud and so general, that they reached the camp on Hounslow-heath, where the soldiers joined in the general joy (although the

1688.
The seven
bishops tried
and acquitted.

the king was there) conveying to him a disgusting token of the little place he had in the affections of his people, which indeed he had taken little pains to cultivate. C H A P.
V.
1688.

It was now clearly perceived, that the king aimed at more than toleration of his religion, and that his design was to give it a predominancy over every other, which gave a very discouraging prospect to his protestant subjects, as they feared the loss of both their civil and religious rights by the intolerant spirit thereof: Their hopes were chiefly centered in the king's advanced age, and the succession of the prince of Orange, the presumptive heiress, to the crown, who had been educated in the protestant religion. But these hopes were greatly damped by a report of the queen's pregnancy, and afterward of her being delivered of a son, which being a circumstance peculiarly favourable to the views and designs of the Romanists, and depriving the protestants of their expected resource, occasioned in the latter a strong suspicion of a deception: Many circumstances attendant on this birth corroborated these suspicions. But the king solemnly asserted the reality and legitimacy of the birth of his son. The queen reported to be delivered of a son.

The dissatisfaction of the people was so general, as to induce them to unite in an invitation to the prince of Orange, who brought over twelve thousand men to their assistance. James at the same time being deserted by many of his former adherents, was so terrified, that he fled to France, and leaving the throne vacant, a convention was summoned by the Prince, which conferred the crown upon him and his consort, Prince of Orange invades England.
King James flies to France.
The prince and prince of Orange declared king and queen of England.

C H A P. V. by the title of William and Mary, king and queen of England.

1688.

W. Penn
under
groundless
suspensions of
being a pa-
pist or je-
suit.

When king James was declining in power, the odium resulting from his measures reached most or all who were supposed of his party, or well-affected to his person. William Penn continued to be exposed to much undeserved obloquy on this account, as appears by a letter from a particular friend of his, William Popple, secretary to the plantation office, and his answer thereto, where we may view afresh the exaggerating spirit of party, which forms characters from vague conjectures.

The following lines are extracts from the said letter, and William Penn's answer thereto.

W. Popple's letter to him on that subject. "To the Honourable WILLIAM PENN, Esq;
"Proprietor and Governor of Pensylvania.

"HONOURED SIR,

"THOUGH the friendship with which you are pleased to honour me, doth afford me sufficient opportunities of discoursing with you upon any subject, yet I chuse rather at this time to offer unto you in writing some reflections which have occurred to my thoughts, in a matter of no common importance. The importance of it doth, primarily and directly, respect yourself, and your own private concerns; but it also, consequentially and effectually, regards the king, his government, and even the peace and settlement of this whole nation. I intreat you, therefore, to bear with me, if I endeavour in this manner to give somewhat more weight unto my words than would be in a transient discourse,
"and

“ and leave them with you, as a subject that
 “ requires your retired consideration. C H A P.
V.

“ You are not ignorant that the part you
 “ have been supposed to have had of late years
 “ in public affairs, though without either the
 “ title, or honour, or profit of any public
 “ office, and that especially your avowed en-
 “ deavours to introduce amongst us a general
 “ and inviolable liberty of conscience in mat-
 “ ters of mere religion, have occasioned the
 “ mistakes of some men, provoked the malice
 “ of others, and, in the end, have raised against
 “ you a multitude of enemies, who have un-
 “ worthily defamed you with such imputations,
 “ as, I am sure, you abhor. This I know you
 “ have been sufficiently informed of, though I
 “ doubt you have not made sufficient reflection
 “ upon it: The consciousness of your own in-
 “ nocence seems to me to have given you too
 “ great a contempt of such unjust and ill-
 “ grounded slanders: For however glorious it
 “ is, and reasonable, for a truly virtuous mind,
 “ whose inward peace is founded upon that rock
 “ of innocence, to despise the empty noise of
 “ popular reproach, yet even that sublimity of
 “ spirit may sometimes swell to a reproveable
 “ excess.

“ But I must not entertain you with a de-
 “ clamation upon this general theme. My bu-
 “ siness is to represent to you, more particular-
 “ ly, those very imputations which are cast
 “ upon yourself, together with some of their
 “ evident consequences; that, if possible, I may
 “ thereby move you to labour after a remedy.
 “ The source of all arises from the ordinary
 “ access you have unto the king, the credit you
 “ are

1688.

C H A P.

V.

1688.

“ are supposed to have with him, and the deep
 “ jealousy that some people have conceived of
 “ his intentions in reference to religion. Their
 “ jealousy is, that his aim has been to settle
 “ POPERY in this nation, not only in a fair and
 “ secure liberty, but even in a predominating
 “ superiority over all other professions : And
 “ from hence the inference follows, that who-
 “ soever has any part in the councils of this
 “ reign, must needs be popishly affected : but
 “ that to have so great a part in them, as you
 “ are said to have had, can happen to none but
 “ an *absolute papist*, That is the direct charge ;
 “ but that is not enough ; your post is too
 “ considerable for a Papist of an ordinary form,
 “ and therefore you must be a *Jesuit* : Nay, to
 “ confirm that suggestion, it must be accom-
 “ panied with all the circumstances that may
 “ best give it an air of probability ; as that you
 “ have been bred at St. OMER’s in the Jesuit’s
 “ college ; that you have taken orders at Rome,
 “ and there obtained a dispensation to marry ;
 “ and that you have since that frequently offi-
 “ ciated as a priest, in the celebration of the
 “ mass at Whitehall, St. James’s, and other
 “ places. And, this being admitted, nothing
 “ can be too black to be cast upon you.

“ Now that I may the more effectually per-
 “ suade you to apply some remedy to this dis-
 “ ease, I beseech you, Sir, suffer me to lay be-
 “ fore you some of its pernicious consequences.
 “ It is not a trifling matter for a person, raised,
 “ as you are, above the common level, to lie
 “ under the prejudice of so general a mistake,
 “ in so important a matter. The general and
 “ the long prevalency of any opinion gives it a
 “ strength,

“ strength, especially among the vulgar, that is
 “ not easily shaken. And as it happens that
 “ you have also enemies of an higher rank,
 “ who will be ready to improve such popular
 “ mistakes, by all sorts of malicious art fices,
 “ it must be taken for granted that those errors
 “ will be thereby still more confirmed, and the
 “ inconveniences that may arise from thence no
 “ less increased. This, Sir, I assure you, is a
 “ melancholy prospect to your friends; for we
 “ know you have such enemies.

“ Pardon, I entreat you, Sir, the earnestness
 “ of these expressions; nay, suffer me, without
 “ offence, to expostulate with you yet a little
 “ farther. I am fearful lest these personal con-
 “ siderations should not have their due weight
 “ with you, and therefore I cannot omit to re-
 “ flect also upon some more general consequences
 “ of your particular reproach. I have said it
 “ already, that the king, his honour, his go-
 “ vernment, and even the peace and settlement
 “ of this whole nation, either are, or have
 “ been, concerned in this matter: Your repu-
 “ tation, as you are said to have meddled in
 “ public affairs, has been of public concern-
 “ ment. The promoting a general liberty of
 “ conscience having been your particular pro-
 “ vince, the aspersion of popery and jesuitism
 “ that has been cast upon you, has reflected
 “ upon his majesty, for having made use, in
 “ that affair, of so disguised a personage as you
 “ are supposed to have been. It has weakened
 “ the force of all your endeavours, obstructed
 “ their effect, and contributed greatly to dis-
 “ appoint this poor nation of that inestimable
 “ happiness, and secure establishment, which I
 “ am

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C H A P. " am persuaded you designed, and which all
 V. " good and wise men agree, that a just and in-
 1688. " violable liberty of conscience would infallibly
 " produce. I heartily wish this consideration
 " had been sooner laid to heart, and that some
 " demonstrative evidence of your sincerity in
 " the profession you make, had accompanied all
 " your endeavours for liberty.

" But what do I say, or what do I wish for ?
 " I confess that I am now struck with astonish-
 " ment at that abundant evidence which I know
 " you have constantly given, of the opposition
 " of your principles to those of the Romish
 " church, and at the little regard there has been
 " had to it. If an open profession of the di-
 " rectest opposition against popery that has ever
 " appeared in the world, since popery was first
 " distinguished from common christianity, would
 " serve the turn, this cannot be denied to all
 " those of that society, with which you are
 " joined in the duties of religious worship. If
 " to have maintained the principles of that so-
 " ciety, by frequent and fervent discourses, by
 " many elaborate writings, by suffering igno-
 " miny, imprisonment, and other manifold dis-
 " advantages in defence thereof, can be ad-
 " mitted as any proof of your sincere adherence
 " thereunto, this, it is evident to the world,
 " you have done already : Nay farther, if to have
 " enquired as far as was possible for you, into
 " the particular stories that have been framed
 " against you, and to have sought all means of
 " rectifying the mistakes upon which they were
 " grounded, could in any measure avail to the
 " settling a true character of you in men's judg-
 " ments ; this also I know you have done.

" Nay

" Nay I have seen also your Justification from C H A P.
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 " another calumny of common fame, about
 " your having kidnapped one who had formerly
 " been a monk, out of your American pro-
 " vince, to deliver him here into the hands of
 " his enemies; I say, I have seen your justifi-
 " cation from that story under that person's
 " own hand: And his return to Pennsylvania,
 " where he now resides, may be an irrefragable
 " confutation of it, to any that will take the
 " pains to enquire thereinto.

" Really it afflicts me very much to consider
 " that all this does not suffice. If I had not
 " that particular respect for you, which I sin-
 " cerely profess; yet I could not but be much
 " affected, that any man who had so deservedly
 " acquired so fair a reputation as you have for-
 " merly had, whose integrity and veracity had
 " always been reputed spotless, and whose cha-
 " rity had been continually exercised in serving
 " others, at the dear expense of his time, his
 " strength, and his estate, without any other
 " recompense than what results from the con-
 " sciousness of doing good; I say, I could not
 " but be much affected, to see any such per-
 " son fall innocently and undeservedly under
 " such unjust reproaches as you have done. It
 " is a hard case; and I think no man, that has
 " any bowels of humanity, can reflect upon it,
 " without great relentsings.

" Since therefore it is so, and that something
 " remains yet to be done, something more ex-
 " press, and especially more public, than has
 " yet been done for your vindication, I beg
 " of you, dear Sir, by all the tender efficacy,
 " that friendship, either mine, or that of your
 " friends

CHAP. V. 1688. " friends and relations together, can have upon
 " you; by the due regard which humanity,
 " and even christianity, obliges you to have to
 " your reputation; by the duty you owe unto
 " the king; by your love to the land of your
 " nativity; and by the cause of universal re-
 " ligion and eternal truth; let not the scandal
 " of insincerity, that I have hinted at, lie any
 " longer upon you; but let the sense of all
 " these obligations persuade you to gratify your
 " friends and relations and to serve your king,
 " your country, and your religion, by such a
 " public vindication of your honour, as your
 " own prudence, upon these suggestions, will
 " now shew you to be most necessary, and most
 " expedient. I am, with unfeigned and most
 " respectful affection.

" Honoured Sir,

" Your most humble

" And most obedient servant."

" London, October the

" 20th, 1688.

W. PENN'S Answer to the foregoing Letter.

" Worthy Friend,

" It is now above twenty years, I thank God,
 " that I have not been very solicitous what the
 " world thought of me. For since I had the
 " knowledge of religion from a principle in
 " myself, the first and main-point with me has
 " been, to approve myself in the sight of God,
 " through

“ through patience and well doing : So that the
 “ world has not had weight enough with me,
 “ to suffer its good opinion to raise me, or its
 “ ill opinion to deject me. And if that had
 “ been the only motive of consideration, and
 “ not the desire of a good friend, in the name
 “ of many others, I had been as silent to thy
 “ letter, as I used to be to the idle and malicious
 “ shams of the times : But, as the laws of
 “ friendship are sacred, with those that value
 “ that relation, so I confess this to be a princi-
 “ pal one with me, not to deny a friend the
 “ satisfaction he desires, when it may be done
 “ without offence to a good conscience.

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“ The business chiefly insisted upon, is my
 “ popery, and endeavours to promote it. I do say
 “ then, and that with all sincerity, that I am not
 “ only no Jesuit, but no Papist. And which is
 “ more, I never had any temptation upon me to be
 “ one, either from doubts in my own mind about
 “ the way I profess, or from the discourse or
 “ writings of any of that religion. And, in
 “ the presence of Almighty God, I do declare
 “ that the king did never once, directly or in-
 “ directly, attack me, or tempt me, upon that
 “ subject, the many years that I have had the
 “ advantage of a free access to him ; so unjust,
 “ as well as sordidly false, are all those stories
 “ of the town.

“ The only reason that I can apprehend
 “ they have to repute me a Roman catholick,
 “ is, my frequent going to Whitehall, a place
 “ no more forbid to me than to the rest of the
 “ world, who, it seems, find much fairer quar-
 “ ter. I have almost continually had one bu-
 “ siness or other there for our friends, whom I

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“ ever served with a steady solicitation, through
 “ all times, since I was of their communion. I
 “ had also a great many personal good offices to
 “ do, upon a principle of charity for people of
 “ all persuasions, thinking it a duty to improve
 “ the little interest I had, for the good of those
 “ that needed it, especially the poor. I might
 “ add something of my own affairs too; though
 “ I must own (if I may without vanity) that
 “ they have ever had the least share of my
 “ thoughts or pains, or else they would not
 “ have still depended as they yet do.

“ But because some people are so unjust, as
 “ to render instances for my popery, (or rather
 “ hypocrisy, for so it would be in me) it is
 “ fit I contradict them as particularly as they
 “ accuse me. I say then, solemnly, that I am
 “ so far from having been bred at St. Omer’s,
 “ and having received orders at Rome, that I
 “ never was at either place, nor do I know any
 “ body there; nor had I ever a correspondence
 “ with any body in those places; which is another
 “ story invented against me. And as for
 “ my officiating in the king’s chapel, or any
 “ other, it is so ridiculous, as well as untrue,
 “ that besides that no body can do it but a
 “ priest, and that I have been married to a
 “ woman of some condition above sixteen years,
 “ which no priest can be, by any dispensation
 “ whatever; I have not so much as looked into
 “ any chapel of the Roman religion, and consequently
 “ not the king’s, though a common
 “ curiosity warrants it daily to people of all per-
 “ suasions.

“ And

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“ And once for all, I do say, that I am a
 “ protestant dissenter, and to that degree such,
 “ that I challenge the most celebrated protestant
 “ of the English church, or any other, on that
 “ head, be he layman or clergyman, in public
 “ or in private. For I would have such people
 “ know, it is not impossible for a true protes-
 “ tant dissenter to be dutiful, thankful, and
 “ serviceable to the king, though he be of the
 “ Roman catholick communion. We hold not
 “ our property or protection from him by our
 “ persuasion; and therefore his persuasion should
 “ not be the measure of our allegiance. I am
 “ sorry to see so many, that seem fond of
 “ the reformed religion, by their disaffection to
 “ him, recommend it so ill. Whatever practices
 “ of Roman catholicks we might reasonably ob-
 “ ject against, (and no doubt but such there are)
 “ yet he has disclaimed and reprehended those
 “ ill things by his declared opinion against per-
 “ secution, by the ease in which he actually
 “ indulges all dissenters; and by the confirma-
 “ tion he offers in parliament, for the security
 “ of the protestant religion and liberty of con-
 “ science. And in his honour, as well as in
 “ my own defence, I am obliged in conscience
 “ to say, that he has ever declared to me, it
 “ was his opinion; and on all occasions, when
 “ duke, he never refused me the repeated proofs
 “ of it, as often as I had any poor sufferers for
 “ conscience-sake to solicit his help for.

“ But some may be apt to say, *why not any*
 “ *body else as well as I? Why must I have the*
 “ *preferable access to other dissenters, if not a*
 “ *papist?* I answer, I know not that it is so.
 “ But this I know, that I have made it my
 province

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“ province and business; I have followed and
 “ pressed it; I took it for my calling and sta-
 “ tion, and have kept it above these sixteen
 “ years; and, which is more, (if I may say it
 “ without vanity or reproach) wholly at my
 “ own charges too. To this let me add the re-
 “ lation my father had to this king’s service, his
 “ particular favour in getting me released out
 “ of the Tower of London in 1669, my father’s
 “ humble request to him, upon his death-bed,
 “ to protect me from the inconveniencies and
 “ troubles my persuasion might expose me to,
 “ and his friendly promise to do it, and exact
 “ performance of it, from the moment I ad-
 “ dressed myself to him: I say, when all this
 “ is considered, any body, that has the least
 “ pretence to good-nature, gratitude, or gene-
 “ rosity, must needs know how to interpret my
 “ access to the king.

“ But, alas, I am not without my apprehen-
 “ sions of the cause of this behaviour towards
 “ me, and in this I perceive we agree; I mean
 “ my constant zeal for an impartial liberty of
 “ conscience. But if that be it, the cause is
 “ too good to be in pain about. I ever under-
 “ stood that to be the natural right of all men;
 “ and that he that had a religion without it, his
 “ religion was none of his own; for what is
 “ not the religion of a man’s choice, is the re-
 “ ligion of him that imposes it: so that liberty
 “ of conscience is the first step to have a reli-
 “ gion. This is no new opinion with me. I
 “ have writ many apologies within the last
 “ twenty years to defend it, and that impartially.
 “ Yet I have as constantly declared, that bounds
 “ ought to be set to this freedom, and that mo-
 “ rality

"rality was the best; and that as often as that
 "was violated, under a pretence of conscience,
 "it was fit the civil power should take place.
 "Nor did I ever once think of promoting any
 "sort of liberty of conscience for any body,
 "which did not preserve the common protes-
 "tancy of the kingdom, and the ancient rights
 "of the government. For, to say truth, the one
 "cannot be maintained without the other.

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"Upon the whole matter, I must say, I love
 "England; I ever did so; and that I am not
 "in her debt. I never valued time, money, or
 "kindred, to serve her and do her good. No
 "party could ever bias me to her prejudice,
 "nor any personal interest oblige me in her
 "wrong. For I always abhorred discounting
 "private favours at the public cost.

"Would I have made my market of the fears
 "and jealousies of the people, when this king
 "came to the crown, I had put twenty thou-
 "sand pounds in my pocket, and an hundred
 "thousand into my province; for mighty num-
 "bers of people were then upon the wing: But
 "I waved it all; hoped for better times; ex-
 "pected the effects of the king's word for li-
 "berty of conscience, and happiness by it; and,
 "till I saw my friends, with the kingdom, de-
 "livered from the legal bondage, which penal
 "laws for religion had subjected them to, I
 "could with no satisfaction think of leaving
 "England; though much to my prejudice be-
 "yond sea, and at my great expense here;
 "having in all this time, never had either
 "office or pension, and always refusing the re-
 "wards or gratuities of those I have been able
 "to oblige.

"If

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V.

1508.

“ If therefore an universal charity, if the as-
 “serting an impartial liberty of conscience, if
 “doing to others as one would be done by, and
 “an open avowing and steady practising of
 “these things, in all times and to all parties,
 “will justly lay a man under the reflection of
 “being a jesuit, or a papist of any rank, I
 “must not only submit to the character, but
 “embrace it too; and I care not who knows
 “that I can wear it with more pleasure, than it
 “is possible for them with any justice to give it
 “me. For these are corner-stones and princi-
 “ples with me; and I am scandalized at all
 “buildings, that have them not for their foun-
 “dations. For religion itself is an empty name
 “without them, a whited wall, a painted sepul-
 “chre, no life or virtue to the soul; no good,
 “or example, to one’s neighbour. Let us not
 “flatter ourselves. *We can never be the better*
 “*for our religion, if our neighbour be the worse*
 “*for it.*

“ He that suffers his difference with his neigh-
 “bour about the other world to carry him be-
 “yond the line of moderation in this, is the
 “worse for his opinion, even though it be
 “true. It is too little considered by christians,
 “that men may hold the truth in unrighteousness,
 “that they may be orthodox, and not know
 “what spirit they are of: so were the apostles
 “of our Lord; they believed in him, yet let
 “a false zeal do violence to their judgment
 “and their unwarrantable heat contradict the
 “great end of their Saviour’s coming, love.

“ Men may be angry for God’s sake, and
 “kill people too. Christ said it, and too many
 “have

“ have practised it. But what sort of christians
 “ must they be, I pray, that can hate in his
 “ name, who bids us love; and kill for his
 “ sake, that forbids killing, and commands love,
 “ even to enemies? C H A P.
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“ Whatsoever divides man’s heart from God,
 “ separates it from his neighbour; and he that
 “ loves self more than God, can never love his
 “ neighbour as himself. For as the apostle said,
 “ *If we do not love him, whom we have seen;*
 “ *how can we love God whom we have not seen?*

“ Since all of all parties profess to believe in
 “ God, Christ, the Spirit, and scripture, that
 “ the soul is immortal, that there are eternal
 “ rewards and punishments, and that the vir-
 “ tuous shall receive the one, and the wicked
 “ suffer the other; I say, since this is the com-
 “ mon faith of christendom, let us all resolve,
 “ in the strength of God, to live up to what
 “ we agree in, before we fall out so miserably
 “ about the rest, in which we differ. I am per-
 “ suaded, the change and comfort which that
 “ pious course would bring us to, would go
 “ very far to dispose our natures to compound
 “ easily for all the rest, and we might hope yet
 “ to see happy days in poor England; for
 “ there I would have so good a work begun.
 “ And how it is possible for the eminent men
 “ of every religious persuasion (especially the
 “ present ministers of the parishes of England)
 “ to think of giving an account to God at the
 “ last day, without using the utmost of their
 “ endeavours to moderate the members of their
 “ respective communions toward those that dis-
 “ fer from them, is a mystery to me! but this I
 “ know, and must lay it at their doors, I charge
 “ also

CHAP. V.
 1688. “also my own soul with it *God requires moderation and humility from us*; for he is at hand
 “who will not spare to judge our impatience,
 “if we have no patience for one another. The
 “eternal God rebuke (I beseech him) the wrath
 “of man, and humble all under the sense of
 “the evil of this day; and yet (unworthy as we
 “are) give us peace, for his holy name’s
 “sake!

“It is now time to end this letter, and I will
 “do it without saying any more than this;
 “thou seest my defence against popular cal-
 “lunmy; thou seest what my thoughts are of
 “our condition, and the way to better it; and
 “thou seest my hearty and humble prayer to
 “Almighty God, to incline us to be wise, if it
 “were but for our own sakes. I shall only add
 “that I am extremely sensible of the kindness
 “and justice intended me by my friends on this
 “occasion, and that I am, for that and many
 “more reasons,

“Thy obliged and affectionate friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

Teddington, October
 the 24th, 1688.

Notwithstanding the foregoing explanation of his conduct; his clear refutation of sundry calumnies charged upon him; his open profession of his faith as a protestant, and the unequivocal proofs he had continually given thereof, and of his sincerity in adopting and maintaining the principles of the people called Quakers, whereby he was restrained from the least intermeddling in any

any plot in favour of, or against any person whatever; yet William Penn's intimacy with the late king had so firmly fixed jealousies of him in many minds of all ranks, as upon this revolution of government, occasioned him considerable embarrassment and inconvenience for some time after.

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1658.

On the 10th of December 1688, walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the lords of the council, then sitting; and, though nothing appeared against him, and he assured them that he had done nothing, but what he could answer before God, and all the princes in the world; that he loved his *country* and the *protestant religion* above his life, and never acted against either; that all he ever aimed at in his public endeavours, was no other than what the *prince* himself had declared for; that king James was always his friend, and his father's friend, and in gratitude he was the king's, and did ever, as much as in him lay, influence him to his true interest; yet they obliged him to give sureties for his appearance the first day of the next term; which he did, and then was continued on the same security to Easter term following, on the last day of which, no cause of crimination appearing, he was cleared in open court. †

W. Penn
summoned
before the
lords of
council the
first time.

This year Rebecca Travers of London died. She was born about the year 1609, received a religious education, and was a zealous professor among the baptists. In the year 1654, James Naylor came up to London, and being engaged to dispute with the baptists, Rebecca's curiosity drew her, with many others, to hear the disputation:

Death of
R. Travers

† Penn's Life, page 199.

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tion: And, coming under the impresson of the prevailing prejudices, which public rumour circulated to the disadvantage of the Quakers, she pleased herself with hopes of enjoying the satisfaction, of beholding the conquest and triumph of her party over their simple and illiterate antagonist. For she had heard of a people in the North called Quakers, who were principally remarkable for their simplicity and rustick behaviour; for a manner of worship strangely different from all others; and a strenuous opposition to all the public teachers; whereby they gave offence not only to the vain, but even the religious part of the people were ready to condemn them. Thus prepossessed, she came to hear the dispute, which turned out very differently from her expectation; for the plain peasant proved an over-match for the champions of the baptists, making his replies and remarks so closely and so powerfully, that she thought she felt his words smite them. When one and another of them gave out, a third attacked him with confidence, as if he would have borne down all opposition; but producing scriptures, which turned against him, he also, being confuted, was obliged to give up.

Rebecca was ashamed and confounded to find a man so simple in appearance should get the advantage of their learned men; which affected her with serious considerations, and abated her pre-conceived prejudice so far, as to beget in her a desire, to hear him in the exercise of his ministry, who had managed the controversy so much beyond her expectation; she had soon after the opportunity of gratifying her desire, at a meeting at Bull and Mouth, and was at that time

time so fully convinced, that, when she came home, she expressed her apprehension, "that
 "since the apostles days truth could not be more
 "plainly laid down, nor in greater power and
 "demonstration of the spirit, than she had heard
 "it that day; and from that time forward she
 "attended the meetings of this people."

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Soon after she was invited by a friend to dinner with James Naylor, where one present, being high in notions, put many curious questions to James Naylor, to which he returned pertinent answers; to which Rebecca Travers giving close attention, James Naylor, perceiving her desirous to comprehend truth in her understanding, rather than apply it to rectify her heart and affections, taking her by the hand, said, "feed
 "not on knowledge; it is as certainly forbidden
 "to thee as ever it was to Eve: It is good to
 "look upon, but not to feed upon; for whosoever
 "feeds upon knowledge, dies to the innocent
 "life." This admonition she received as truth, and found it so in her deepest trials; of which she had her share*. The benefit she received from his ministry, and the profitable impressions made upon her mind, by the observation of his circumspect and self denying conversation in those days, engaged her affectionate esteem for James Naylor; and, although she was a woman of too much discretion and stability in religion to carry her regard beyond its proper limits, to such extravagant lengths as those weak people who contributed to his downfall; yet being a woman of a tender sympathizing disposition, she attended him carefully in his grievous sufferings,
 washed

* J. Whiting,

C H A P. V. washed his wounds, and administered every charitable service for his relief in her power.

1638.

After some time she received a gift in the ministry, in which she seems to have laboured mostly in the city of London and its neighbourhood. She was a partaker in the sufferings of these times. In the year 1659 she thought it her duty to go to the public worship house, called John the Evangelist's, to which she formerly belonged; and after their worship was ended, she put a question to the priest, as she said, not to give disturbance, but for edification: The priest hurrying away without replying, his hearers assaulted her with violence, railing at, and pushing her down several times, whilst she had none to protect her, or take her part, though several of her relations were spectators of the abuse she received. She was committed to Newgate three times in one year, viz. 1664, this being the year wherein the conventicle act for banishment came in force; when the mode of short and repeated imprisonments was adopted, in order that the third offence for transportation might be expedited. She wrote sundry small tracts, in one of which, directed to the parishioners of the aforesaid parish, she gives the following account of her religious experience, "that though she had
 "been a reader of the scriptures, from a child
 "of six years old as constantly as most, yet
 "when, by the power of the gospel, she was
 "turned from darkness to light, they appeared
 "another thing in her view, being clearly explained to her state and her understanding, as
 "she came to learn of that spirit, which gave
 "them forth."

She

She was a virtuous woman, discreet in her conduct, and much employed in acts of charity and beneficence: of sympathetic tenderness toward the afflicted; and therefore one of the first of these faithful women to whom the care of the poor, the sick and the imprisoned members of the society, was assigned, which care, in conjunction with others, she religiously discharged. And after a long life of virtuous and charitable deeds, she died in much peace the 15th of the 4th month, 1688, in the 80th year of her age.

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William Dewsbury, a native of the East Riding in Yorkshire, was early distinguished amongst the foremost members of this society, both for depth of religious experience, the eminence of his labours in the ministry, and for the severity of his sufferings for the testimony of a good conscience. He was first bred to the keeping of sheep, and afterwards put apprentice to a clothier. He was religiously inclined early in life; he went amongst the independants and baptists, but could not join in close communion with either; and when the civil wars broke out, he entered into the parliament's army, with those who pretended they fought for the gospel, but appeared too ignorant of what he conceived the gospel to be. As he grew more seriously attentive to religious considerations, the recollection of the expression of our Saviour. "Put up thy sword into the scabbard; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight," affected his mind with a lively impression of the inconsistency of war with the peaceable gospel of Christ. Under this conviction he left the army, and returned to his outward habitation and calling; and, while his hands

William
Dewsbury.

CHAPTER V.
1688. hands were diligently employed in his outward vocation, his mind was often exercised under the convictions of that light which had convinced him of the evil of outward wars, in a spiritual conflict with his inward enemies, the propensities of nature and the body of sin; and by patient and faithful attention to the Grace of God which bringeth salvation, he received strength to overcome his evil propensities. About this time George Fox coming to Balby, William Dewsbury, as hath been related in course, assented to his doctrine, as agreeing with his experience, joined him in fellowship, and soon after in the work of the ministry.

He traveled much in different parts of England for the propagation of truth and righteousness, for which, like his brethren, he met with much personal abuse from the misled multitude: his imprisonments were many, and some of them long. In the year 1654, on the information of Edward Bowles, a priest of York, as a ring-leader of the Quakers, judge Windham granted a warrant to apprehend him; and being soon after apprehended at a meeting at Crake, the constable consented to his continuing there until next day; but in the night a rude multitude of the inhabitants beset the house where he lodged, and seized him by violence, shouting loudly as they were hauling him from place to place. Thus they kept him until the next day, and then took him before a magistrate; who, although upon examination he could find no legal cause, committed him prisoner to York Castle, where he lay until the assizes; but was brought to no trial, and at the termination of the assizes he was cleared by proclamation. He then pursued the
line

line of his duty, travelling through Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire to Darby and Leicester, at which places he was taken up, carried before magistrates, and ordered to be turned out of both these towns; but returned and fulfilled his ministry, until he apprehended himself clear. His next imprisonment was at Northampton, in company with Joseph Storr and others, of which a pretty full account hath been given in the course of this work *. In the year 1657, he went up to London, and from thence he travelled into Kent, and along the South coast westward to the Land's end. In his return through Devonshire he was stopped at Torrington, put under a guard, and brought before the mayor and other magistrates: At this time many being raised to offices of magistracy from inferior stations, were very jealous of the honour of their office; enraged at his appearing before them with his hat on, some of them, in wrath, threw his hat on the ground, charged him with being a jesuit from abroad, read him several new laws against him (as they said) as a vagabond, and sent him to prison: They brought him again to examination, to try if they could ensnare him in his words; but he was mercifully preserved in that wisdom, that they could gain no advantage over him that way. They then made a mittimus to send him to the common jail at Exeter; they returned him to his prison, where he had only the cold floor for his bed; and made a mittimus to send him to the county jail, in order to stand his trial at the ensuing assizes. At last, as doubtful of their power of shewing cause, they tore the

C H A P.
V.
1688.

Vol. III. P mittimus

* See vol. I page 190

C H A P.
V.
1688.

mittimus, and set him at liberty : Being released, he prosecuted his journey through Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and so on to Warwick, the place of his residence. He visited Scotland in the year 1658, and London again in 1659. In the years 1661, 62, 63, his travels were much interrupted by successive imprisonments for his testimony ; first at York, for part of the two former years ; next in Newgate, London ; and again at York castle. And in 1663 he was imprisoned at Warwick, præmunired for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and detained a prisoner there about nineteen years in all, four of them under a close imprisonment. Being released for a season by king Charles's declaration of indulgence, he spent a considerable part of his time of liberty, in repeating his travels for propagating religion and righteousness in several parts of the nation (as he expressed it) while the doors were open. But after a few years he was again taken up in his travels at or about Leicester, for a jesuit, and re-committed to his former prison at Warwick. The vindictive disposition of the persecutors of this time, leading them to add any invidious character to the iniquity and hardship of their imprisonments, which might render this people, and particularly the most useful and considerable members, obnoxious to public odium ; the jesuits being in a peculiar manner obnoxious at this time ; for it was about the time of the popish plot. In this imprisonment he was detained, by the best accounts, I have, until the general release of friends by king James. After his last release he was disabled from travelling much, his health and strength being so greatly impaired by

by the many violent abuses and long imprisonments he had endured, that he was obliged to rest frequently in walking from his house to the meeting place in the same town. In the 3d month, 1688, he travelled to London, mostly visited the meetings in that city, intending to stay the yearly meeting, which was approaching, and here preached his last sermon in a lively animated testimony to the necessity of regeneration, in order to insure an entrance into the kingdom of Heaven. But being seized with a sharp fit of a distemper which he had contracted in prison, he thought it expedient to endeavour to return home, and left behind him a short epistle to the yearly meeting, signifying his reason for leaving London at that time, and wishing his friends there divine assistance and heavenly wisdom, in their endeavours and consultations for the good of the body.

C H A P.
V.
1688.

He got home by short journeys, but survived his departure from the city only seventeen days. He was a man of deep penetration, great experience in the work of religion; courageous in bearing his testimony for the truth, both in his ministry and conversation, and undaunted in suffering for it; as appears by his following expressions on his death bed, to some friends who came to visit him, " Friends, be faithful, and " trust in the Lord your God; for this, I can " say, I never played the coward; but as joy- " fully entered prisons as palaces.—And in the " prison house, I sang praises to my God; and " esteemed the bolts and locks put upon me as " jewels, and in the name of the eternal God, " I always got the victory; for they could not

C H A P. " keep me any longer than the time determined
 V. " of him."

1688.

His fidelity in duty, his sincerity in religion, and his patience in tribulation, were abundantly rewarded by the serenity of his conscience, and the peaceful tenour of his mind at this awful period, whereby he could look death in the face, not only without terror, but with a holy triumph over its power: For, continuing his discourse, he said, " my departure draws nigh; " blessed be God, I have nothing to do but to die; " and put off this corruptible and mortal tabernacle, this body of flesh, that hath so many " infirmities; but the life that dwells in it ascends out of the reach of death, hell and the " grave; and immortality and eternal life is my " crown for ever and ever.

He concluded in prayer and supplication to the Lord, for all his people every where; but more especially for his dearly beloved friends assembled at the yearly meeting in London, where he intended to have been, if his health had enabled him. He departed this life at his house in Warwick, in a good age, the 17th of the 4th month, 1688.

HISTORY

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

B O O K VI.

From the REVOLUTION to the ACCESSION
of GEORGE I.

C H A P. I.

The Prince and Princess of Orange elected King and Queen of England.—Convention changed into a Parliament.—An Attempt to abolish the Test.—Rejected by the Lords.—Act of Toleration brought in and passed.—Some Members reluctant to the Ease intended the Dissenters, and proposed a Confession of Faith as a Test.—Friends propose a Confession of their own Drawing up, which is accepted.—Declaration of Fidelity allowed to the Quakers, instead of the Oath prescribed by the Act.—Clause for Payment of Tithes.—Account of Alexander Parker.—Further Troubles of William Penn.—Account of Robert Lodge.—Robert Barclay.—George Fox.—Thomas Salthouse.

C H A P.
I.

1689.

WILLIAM and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, being elected king and queen of England, by a convention of the two estates of lords and

The prince and princess of Orange elected king and queen of England.

CHAP. and commons, were crowned at Westminster
 I. the 11th of 2^{mo}. O. S. called April, 1689 †. The
 1689. ceremony was performed by the bishop of London, as Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, declined the office.

The king having appointed his privy council, they judged it expedient to convert the present convention into a parliament, in order that the new settlement might be established by a legal sanction: and it was thought hazardous to the peace of the nation to proceed to a new election, until the revolution was more firmly settled. For although the common danger had united different parties in a joint application to the prince of Orange, yet they were no sooner rescued therefrom, than their former prejudices, and jealousies of him, and each other, began to revive. As he had been bred a Calvinist, and was a warm advocate for liberty of conscience, the presbyterians and other dissenters were zealously attached to him, and considered him as their

† The coronation oath according to the new form was this:

Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed to, and the laws and customs of the same? *Answer.* I solemnly promise so to do.

Will you to your power cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments? *Answer.* I will.

The next question, will you to the utmost of your power maintain the law of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion established by law? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights, and privileges, as shall belong to them? *Answer.* All this I promise to do?

their protector; but for the same reason the high-churchmen began to regard him with a jealous eye, first endeavoured to exclude him from the throne, and afterwards to thwart his measures, and perplex his government. The old party heats were rekindling, and virulent disputations like to blow them up to a flame. In this state of the nation it was deemed inexpedient to proceed to a new election. Wherefore the king went in the usual form and state, and opened the session with a speech from the throne. After the usual form of returning the king thanks for his speech, a bill was brought in and passed, whereby the lords and commons, now sitting at Westminster, were declared to be a parliament to all intents and purposes.

C H A P
1.
1689.

The convention
changed
into a parliament.

The parliament now conceiving themselves invested with full power to discharge their functions, proceeded to the enacting such laws as appeared requisite to attain the ends of the revolution. As the fears and aversion of the protestant subjects to popery had given rise to a coalition, which brought about this revolution, the first attempt of the parliament was to strengthen this coalition, in uniting the protestants of the different denominations in stronger bands of alliance against their common adversaries, and attaching them closely to the present government by taking away the sacramental test (so called) and making room for all protestants to be admitted to offices, who might be found qualified; but this bill was rejected by the lords. This attempt in favour of the dissenters being supposed to be promoted by the king, augmented the prejudices of the high-churchmen against him.

An attempt
to abolish
the test.

rejected by
the lords.

The

C H A P.

1.

1689.

Act of toleration
brought in
and passed
into a law.

Some members appear
reluctant to
the ease intended to
dissenters.

and propose
a confession
of faith as
a test.

The next measure in favour of dissenters was attended with better success, i. e. the bringing in and passing an act, commonly called, *the act of toleration*, intitled *An act for exempting protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws*, which passed without much opposition. For after their late promises to the dissenters, when they wanted their assistance; after losing the pretext for opposition, on account of the incompetency of the power granting it; after the declaration of the bishops in their address to King James, "That in relation to the dissenters, they were willing to come to such a temper, as shall be thought fit, when the matter comes to be considered and settled in parliament:" The high-churchmen could not with any degree of plausibility oppose so reasonable a provision for the quiet and security of this body of the subjects in the possession of their liberty and property. Yet still some of them could not refrain discovering their reluctance to the relief intended to the dissenters, and more especially to the people called Quakers by this act: * for some friends of London attending the parliament to use their endeavours that the bill might pass in such terms as might yield an effectual relief to the society from persecution, and secure their religious liberties without interruption, they found the bill clogged with a confession of faith, as a test upon the dissenters, to qualify them for admission to the benefit of the act which seemed to them designed to exclude the people called Quakers, in consequence of a declaration made in the house, by some adverse member or members, *That the Quakers*

* George Whitehead, p. 634.

Quakers were no christians—An old refuted calumny of notorious adversaries, or malicious apostates. CHAP.
I.
1689.

The article proposed to be inserted in the bill by way of test was this, "That all such who profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God and in the Holy Spirit, co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever: And do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the old and new testament to be the revealed will and word of God."

Because the people called Quakers dissented from the unscriptural terms, wherein divers professors had endeavoured to explain their notions of the Three, that bear record in heaven; and objected to the term, *the word of God*, being applicable to the scriptures, in the sense the scriptures themselves apply it, viz. *The word that was from the beginning, that was with God, and was God*, their adversaries calumniated them with disbelieving the Trinity, and denying the scriptures; whereas they were always ready to testify their faith in both, according to scripture testimony, but did not esteem themselves obliged to receive for doctrine, the invented terms, or commandments of men, without it. * They believed in Christ, in his divinity, as the Son of God, and as he is the eternal word. And that the Three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, are ONE; one God blessed for ever.

Now it is apprehended, that the above clause for a test was inserted in the bill on the presumption

* G. Whitehead, P. 635.

CHAP. tion that this people would scruple acceding
 I. thereto, by some who had adopted the persuasion,
 1689. received by too many at that time, that they
 disbelieved the Trinity, and denied the scrip-
 tures.

Friends pro-
 pose a con-
 fession of
 their own.

Upon viewing this clause in the bill, the friends who were attending the parliament, to solicit the passing thereof in such terms, as might give effectual relief to them and their brethren, as well as to other dissenters, objected to some expression in the aforesaid profession, as appearing unscriptural; and therefore at the desire of Sir Thomas Clarges, and some others, who were friendly, that they might not lie under the imputation of being *no christians*, nor be deprived of the benefit of the intended act, they proposed the following profession instead thereof, viz. "I profess faith in God the Father and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, one God blessed for ever: and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the old and new testament to be given by divine inspiration."

Which Sir Thomas Clarges took into the house, and moved in the committee of the whole house, that this last proposed confession of faith be inserted in the place of the former; whereupon the friends in waiting, George Whitehead, John Vaughton, William Mead and John Osgood were called in and examined, and gave them, or the moderate part, full satisfaction as to their belief in these points, which was conducive to gain the end of their attendance, obtaining the same relief for their friends, as other dissenters were favoured with.

This act gives liberty to dissenters to hold their meetings without molestation, provided the doors
 were

were not locked, barred or bolted during the time of such meeting. Provided also they take the oaths prescribed in the act. And inasmuch as the people called Quakers entertain a conscientious scruple against taking any oath, they were entitled, upon their subscribing the following declaration, to the benefit of the act, viz.

"I, A. B. do sincerely promise and solemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to King William and queen Mary. And I solemnly profess and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, detest and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath, or ought to have, any power, jurisdiction, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this realm."

CHAP.
1.
1689.

Declaration
of fidelity
allowed to
Quakers in-
stead of the
oath.

And provided they shall subscribe a profession of their christian belief in these words:

[The same which the friends drew up.]

As a profession of faith is required of this society only, it evinces the truth of the conjecture, that this profession of faith was started, with a view to exclude the people called Quakers from a participation in the benefits of this act.

It was also enacted, that no congregation or assembly be allowed by this act, until, the place of such meeting should be certified to the bishop of the diocese, or to the arch-deacon of the arch-deaconry,

CHAP. I. 1689. deaconry, or to the justices of peace at the general or quarter sessions of the peace for the county, city or place, in which such meeting should be held, and registered in the said bishop's or arch-deacon's court respectively, or recorded at the said quarter sessions, for which the register or clerk should not take a greater fee or reward than sixpence.

The people called Quakers, by this act, were at last legally tolerated in their religion, and exempted from the persecution they had been long subjected to, for keeping up their religious meetings, and declining to take the oath of allegiance. But they were and are still subjected to the power of those called spiritual courts in prosecutions for tithes, the 5th clause of the act being,

Clause for
paying
tithes.

“ Provided always, that nothing herein contained should be construed to exempt any of the persons aforesaid from paying of tithes, and other parochial duties to the church or minister, nor from any prosecution in any ecclesiastical court or elsewhere for the same.”

So that they were not exempted from sufferings for their religious dissent to the legality of tithes under the gospel. For although the King was principled against persecution, yet this exemption was out of his power to grant, being prevented by the coronation oath. Many of the prosecutions for these demands, evidence that the spirit of persecution survived the act of toleration, by the severe and oppressive methods adopted by many claimants of tithes for the recovery of their demands, of which an account may appear in the sequel.

They

They were as yet also liable to many inconveniences and losses, by reason of their conscientious scruple to take an oath; but the legislature, some time after, upon their petition, was pleased to yield them relief in that matter.

CHAP.
I.
1689.

This year died Alexander Parker. * He was born on the borders of Yorkshire, near Bolton in Lancashire; was well educated, and early convinced of the truth of the principles of the people called Quakers, and became an eminent minister in that society. He accompanied George Fox in his journey to London, when he was sent up by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell; carried with him in and about London, and travelled with him through sundry counties; as he did afterwards from time to time in divers journeys in different parts of England, in Scotland, and into Holland in 1684. He travelled also many journeys by himself in the exercise of his gospel labours, being one in the number of the worthies of this age, who were given up to the service of their maker, and the promoting of pure religion and the practice of piety in the nation, as the principal purpose of their lives. In the year 1684, † soon after the act for banishment was put in force, on the 17th of 5^{mo}. O. S. commonly called July, two justices with constables, and armed soldiers, came to the meeting at Mile-end-green and placed a guard at each gate: After some time Alexander Parker stood up to speak, beginning with these words, "In the name of the Lord," upon which one of the justices rushed into the meeting, profanely crying out, "In the name of the devil pluck that
" fellow.

Account of
A Parker.

* J. Whiting, p. 184. † Bessie, vol. 1. p. 393.

C H A P. "fellow down," which was presently done.

1. Then the justices took the names of all the men,
 1689. being thirty-two, and sent them to newgate for three months for the first offence upon the act for banishment. * Alexander Parker was imprisoned a second time in the tenth month the same year. In the 3^{mo}. called May, 1670, as he was preaching in Grace-church-street, he was violently pulled down, and carried before the mayor, who fined him 20l. In 1669, he married Prudence Wager, of Stepney, widow, and settled in London, but still continued frequent travels into different parts to edify his friends. After he fixed his residence in London he was very serviceable in company with other friends in solicitations to government, for the relief of their friends under sufferings, being a man very fit for such service, comely in his person and deportment. He wrote several treatises and epistles to his friends for their edification: And concluded a life spent in honest endeavours to do good, in much peace, the 8th of the 1st month 1688-9.

1690. William Penn, notwithstanding his public dis-
 Further claiming of disloyal principles; notwithstanding
 troubles of the defence he had made before the council; and
 W. Penn. notwithstanding nothing criminal had been laid to his charge; yet his late supposed intimacy at the court of king James, brought him under strong suspicions of being disaffected to the present government, and involved him in a series of troublesome prosecutions during the course of this year: The intelligence of William Popple in his letter, that he had many powerful enemies

mies, seems confirmed by the sequel, for he was again brought before the privy council, upon an accusation of holding a correspondence with the late King: Upon their requiring sureties for his appearance, he appealed to King William himself, who, after a conference of near two hours, inclined to acquit him; but, to please some of the council, he was held upon bail, and in Trinity term the same year discharged.

C H A P.
I.
1690.

As the campaign in Ireland had not been attended with much success the last year, King William determined to command the army there in person, which suggested to some of the discontented party a favourable opportunity, during his absence to form a conspiracy in favour of the abdicated monarch: This conspiracy, originally formed in Scotland, was discovered about the time of the King's departure for Ireland, upon which a proclamation was issued out by the queen, for seizing, not only those immediately engaged therein, but such also as lay under suspicion of being zealous partisans of the late King, and amongst others William Penn; who, with divers lords and others to the number of eighteen, was charged with adhering to the kingdom's enemies; but, proof failing respecting him, he was again cleared by the court of king's bench on the last day of that called Michaelmas term this year.

Being now at liberty, he had purposed to make another voyage to Pennsylvania, and had published proposals in print for a second settlement there, but was prevented by a fresh accusation of being concerned in another plot. King William going over to the congress at the *Hague*, as soon as his intentions were known, some of the disaffected party

CHAP. party resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, which his absence would afford them, to form a new conspiracy against the government; and in order to accomplish their design, Lord Preston and one Ashton were fixed upon to go over to France, to concert with King James the measures and conditions, upon which they were to proceed: But by intelligence given to the Marquis of Carmarthen they were both taken in the hold of the vessel, which they had engaged to take them to France, together with the packet of letters and papers they were carrying over. Ashton was executed: But Preston, to save his own life, informed against several of the nobility, who had been most active in forwarding the revolution, as well as against many of the partisans of the late King, and amongst others against William Penn; and this accusation being backed by the oath of one * William Fuller, who was afterward branded by the parliament with infamy as an impostor, a warrant was thereupon granted for the apprehension of William Penn, which he narrowly escaped at his return from George Fox's burial, the 16th 11^{mo}. O. S. called January 1690-1.

He had hitherto defended himself before the king and council: But perceiving his safety to be greatly endangered, having, undeservedly, many powerful enemies, the tide of public rumour

* In the year 1702 this *Fuller* was prosecuted in the king's bench and convicted as an impostor: And for publishing certain libels, one entitled, *Original letters of the late king James, &c.* Another, *Twenty-six depositions of persons of quality and worth*, was sentenced to stand in the pillory, &c. *Smollet's History of England*, Vol. I. p. 131.

mour making against the accused, and two witnesses now procured against him in particular, he thought it more adviseable to retire for the present, 'till more favourable circumstances might give him an opportunity of being heard without prejudice in vindication of his innocence, than in the present circumstances hazard the sacrificing thereof to the oaths of a profligate miscreant; he accordingly appeared little in public for two or three years. During this recess he employed himself in writing; and first, lest his friends might be induced by public report to entertain any suspicious sentiments concerning him, he sent the following epistle to their yearly meeting in London, viz.

C H A P.

I.

1690.

“ 30th of third month, 1691.

“ My beloved, dear, and honoured brethren,

“ MY unchangeable love salutes you; and
 “ though I am absent from you, yet I feel the
 “ sweet and lowly life of your heavenly fellow-
 “ ship, by which I am with you, and a partaker
 “ amongst you, whom I have loved above my
 “ chiefest joy: Receive no evil surmisings, nei-
 “ ther suffer hard thoughts, through the insi-
 “ nuations of any, to enter your minds against
 “ me, your afflicted, but not forsaken, friend
 “ and brother. My enemies are yours, and, in
 “ the ground, mine for your sakes; and that
 “ God seeth in secret, and will one day reward
 “ openly. My privacy is not because men have
 “ sworn truly, but falsely against me;” *For*
wicked men have laid in wait for me, and false
witnesses have laid to my charge things that I knew
not, “ who have never sought myself, but the

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Q

“ good

C H A P.

I.

1690.

“ good of all, through great exercises, and have
 “ done some good, and would have done more,
 “ and hurt to no man; but always desired that
 “ truth and righteousness, mercy and peace,
 “ might take place amongst us. Feel me near
 “ you and lay me near you, my dear and be-
 “ loved brethren; and leave me not; neither
 “ forsake, but wrestle with him that is able to
 “ prevail against the cruel desires of some, that
 “ we may yet meet in the congregations of his
 “ people, as in days past, to our mutual com-
 “ fort. The everlasting God of his chosen in
 “ all generations, be in the midst of you, and
 “ crown your most solemn assemblies with his
 “ blessed presence! that his tender, meek, lowly
 “ and heavenly love and life may flow among
 “ you, and that he would please to make it a
 “ seasoning and fruitful opportunity to you! that
 “ edified and comforted you may return home,
 “ to his glorious high praise, who is worthy for
 “ ever! To whom I commit you, desiring to be
 “ remembered of you before him, in the nearest
 “ and freshest access, who cannot forget you in
 “ the nearest relation,

“ Your faithful friend and brother,

“ W. P.”

His excellent preface to Robert Barclay's works, and another to those of John Burnyeat both printed this year, were farther fruits of his retirement; as were also,

1. A small treatise, entitled, “ Just Measures,
 “ in an epistle of peace and love, to such pro-
 “ fessors as are under any dissatisfaction about
 “ the present order practised in the church of
 “ Christ.”

2. “ A key

2. "A key opening the way to every common understanding, how to discern the difference between the religion professed by the people called Quakers, and the perversions, misrepresentations, and calumnies* of their adversaries, both upon their principles and practices; wherein several doctrines of that people are set in a clear light:" A book so generally accepted, that it has been re-printed even to the fifteenth edition.

C H A P.
I.
1690.

Having thus improved the time of his retirement, it pleased divine providence in the year 1693, to dissipate this cloud and to open his way again to public service: For through the mediation of his friends, Lord Ranelagh, Lord Somers, Sir John Trenchard, or some of them, he was admitted to appear before the privy council, where he pleaded his innocency, so as to obtain his release, and met with no further trouble on the like account.

In this year the society were deprived of the following eminent and serviceable members, some of whose labours have appeared considerable enough to be particularly noticed in course in various parts of this history, viz. John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Robert Barclay, George Fox and Thomas Salthouse.

1. John Burnyeat married, and spent his latter years in Ireland, where will be the proper place to give account of him.

2. Robert Lodge, his early and frequent companion and fellow traveller in his religious visits to his friends in various parts, had his domestic residence at Masham in Yorkshire, where he was born about the year 1636. He was religiously inclined from his youth, and his understanding

Account of
Robert
Lodge.

C H A P.

I.

1690.

was opened to behold, in true religion, a purity and refinement beyond the instructions and general doctrine of the priests or teachers of that age; with several of whom he would discourse on serious subjects, in which he generally proved his apprehensions and notions superior to theirs, before he had heard of any of the people called Quakers, or joined himself to their religious society: But when they came into those parts, he (with many others) was convinced about the year 1654, and the eighteenth year of his age. A meeting was gathered here to sit together in silence, waiting for divine instruction, to feel the state of their own minds, and to receive power over their natural infirmities and propensities, and through faith being strengthened to obtain the victory, were in due time prepared to receive spiritual gifts. Amongst them Robert Lodge was favoured with an eminent gift in the ministry, in the exercise whereof he travelled in England and Ireland; his labours were attended with a convincing evidence, whereby he was made instrumental to gather many from the evils that are in the world and the entanglements thereof, to serious consideration of their ways, and religious desires after the attainment of peace and future happiness.

His labours and travels in Ireland, in company with John Burnyeat, have been related in course. Soon after his return in, 1660, he was imprisoned, with one hundred and twenty-five more in the county of York, in the general imprisonment succeeding the insurrection of the fifth monarchy men, and detained in prison till king Charles II. issued his proclamation for their release in the next year. He was again imprisoned at Wakefield

field in the said county in 1665. He went to Ireland a second time in company with George Fox in 1669, where their service was conducive to the strengthening of many, their meetings being held and their ministry exercised under the sense of the divine power and presence.

C H A P.
I.
1690.

After his return he continued his ministerial labours for some time about his native county: And attended the yearly meeting in London, accompanied by his old companion John Burnyeat, in the years 1674 and 1676, and in the latter year visited Bristol and parts adjacent. John Burnyeat and he had been frequent companions in travelling, and closely united in their services, and they finished their course nearly together, the former being removed by death the 11th and the latter the 15th of the same month, viz. the 7th month O. S. commonly called July, 1690.

Robert Lodge (with many other of his faithful brethren) having kept his first love, and holden his integrity to the last, in his concluding scene felt that serenity of mind which supported him above the fear of death; of which his expressions to his friends, who visited him in his last sickness, appear a convincing evidence; to one of whom he expressed his feeling of an approving conscience in these terms, "The Lord knows my heart that I have served him; and it hath been of more account to me, the gaining of one soul, than all my labours and travels." To another, "It is well with me, I have no disturbance in my mind." And to a third, "The Lord knows, I was never commissioned to go any way, or do any thing, but I have willingly answered him; and the Lord who hath been my rock and refuge, my shield

C H A P. "shield and buckler, and my sanctuary, hath
 1. "been with me all along to this day." His last
 1690. expression was "Blessed be God, I have heavenly peace." In this peaceful temper of mind he breathed his last, like one falling into an easy sleep.

Character. He was a man of an amiable disposition; a fine natural temper, cultivated by pure religion: A preacher of righteousness, no less in the whole tenour of his life, and circumspect conversation, than in word and doctrine; whereby he acquired the general esteem of his friends and neighbours, and left an honourable and spotless reputation behind him.

Robert Barclay. The particular account of Robert Barclay's birth, family, education and convincement, laid before the reader at his first introduction into this history, and of his services in the course thereof, while it points him out as a man conspicuous for usefulness in the society, anticipates a considerable portion of the memoirs of his life and labours: So that it remains principally to relate the manner of his conclusion; transcribe his character, as drawn up by his intimate friend William Penn, and others, who were well acquainted with him; and to give account of the writings he hath left behind him, in vindication of his religious profession.

This excellent man was taken away in the prime of life, having attained only the 42d year of his age: But in a life devoted, as his was, to the love and service of his creator, and the employment of those remarkable talents with which his mind was enriched, to the propagation of pure religion among mankind, I esteem every period of our age, in the ordering of divine

vine wisdom, a life long enough to answer the end of our existence, and to ensure our well-being in a state of eternal duration. His sickness was short; but having through life had his eye to a future state, he wanted not a long time of preparation for death. James Dickenson of Cumberland, being in the course of his religious travels in these parts, paid him a visit, when on his death-bed, and as he sat by him, they were favoured with the feeling of the divine power and presence humbling and solacing their spirits; under the tendering effect whereof Robert Barclay expressed his love to all faithful friends in England, who kept their integrity in the truth; and desired James to remember it to friends in Cumberland and at Swarthmore, and the faithful every where, adding, "God is good
" still, and though I am under a great weight
" of weakness and sickness, yet my peace
" flows; and this I know, whatever exercises
" may be permitted to come upon me, they
" shall tend to God's glory, and my salvation,
" and in that I rest;" He died at his house at Ury in Scotland the 3d day of the 8th month, 1690.

His character as an author is given already: As a man and a christian, three of his intimate friends, who were well acquainted with his merit, William Penn, Patrick Livingstone and Andrew Jaffray, have in substance described his character as followeth:

"He loved the truth and way of God, as revealed among us, above all the world, and was not ashamed of it before men; but bold and able in maintaining it. Sound in judgment; strong in argument; cheerful in sufferings; of a pleasant disposition; yet solid, plain and exemplary

His character

C H A P. "emphary in conversation. He was a learned
 1. "man, a good christian, an able minister, a
 1690 "dutiful son, a loving husband, a tender and
 "careful father, an easy master, and a good kind
 "neighbour and friend. These eminent quali-
 "ties in one, who employed them so serviceably,
 "and who had not lived much above half the
 "life of a man, aggravated the loss of him, es-
 "pecially in that nation where he lived." *Wil-*
liam Penn.

"He was a lover of peace, and on all occa-
 "sions exerted his endeavours to promote it.
 "The quickness of his penetration and discern-
 "ment furnished him with ability; his love of
 "peace, with a disposition to promote reconcili-
 "ation; and his uncorrupted integrity, with un-
 "derstanding to give sound judgement in mat-
 "ters of difference, and compose and determine
 "them with impartiality," *Patrick Living-*
stone.

"He ruled his own house well; so that beau-
 "ty, good-order, holiness, gravity and humi-
 "lity were conspicuous therein. He was a
 "man of great meekness, evenness of temper,
 "and lowliness of spirit, not in the least degree
 "lifted up with the superiority of his attain-
 "ments, natural or spiritual: But through the
 "assistance of divine grace was so preserved in
 "dominion over pride and passion, that he was
 "rarely ever seen in a peevish, angry, fretful,
 "or disordered temper." *Andrew Jaffray.*

Account of
 his writings.

His writings were mostly of the polemical
 kind. As he lived at a time when great pains
 were taken to vilify and defame the society of
 which he was a member, he found it his con-
 cern to vindicate his profession from the misre-
 presentations

presentations of its antagonists, which he is generally allowed to have done in a masterly manner in the following tracts.

1. *Truth cleared of Calumnies*, published in 1670, about the 23d year of his age, occasioned by a book, entitled *A Dialogue between a Quaker and a stable Christian*, the invention supposed of one *W. Mitchell*, a preacher near Aberdeen.

2. Queries proposed to the serious consideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen, by way of appendix to *Truth cleared of Calumnies*, 1670.

3. William Mitchell unmasked; being an answer to his *Animadversions upon Truth cleared of Calumnies*, 1671.

4. A seasonable warning, and exhortation to and expostulation with the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation, and day of God's merciful visitation towards them, 1672.

5. A catechism and confession of faith, &c. 1673.

6. The *Anarchy* of the *Ranters*, and other libertines; the *Hierarchy* of the *Romanists*, and other pretended churches, equally refused and refuted, 1674.

7. A Vindication of the preceding tract, serving as an explanatory postscript, 1679.

8. An *Apology* for the *true Christian Divinity*, as it is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn QUAKERS. Dedicated to king Charles II. 1675, the 28th year of his age.

9. A dispute between *John Lesley*, *Alexander Sheriff*, *P. Gell*, called *students of divinity*, at Aberdeen, and *Robert Barclay* and *George Keith*, 1679.

10. *Quakerism*

C H A P.

I.

1690.

10. *Quakerism confirmed*. A vindication of the chief doctrines and principles of the *Quakers*, from the objections of the students of divinity (so called) of Aberdeen, in their book, entitled *Quakerism canvassed*, 1676.

11. *Universal Love*, 1677.

12. *An Epistle of Love and friendly Advice, to the Ambassadors of the several Princes of Europe met at Nimeguen to consult of the Peace of Christendom*, shewing the true cause of WAR, and proposing the best means of PEACE. To each of whom, with the epistle, was delivered one of his *Apologies*, all which were received with respect, 1677.

13. A Vindication of his Apology; in reply to the objections made against it by one John Brown, in his book, entitled *Quakerism the path-way to paganism*, 1679.

14. The Possibility and Necessity of the inward and immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God towards the Foundation and Ground of true Faith, proved: In a letter written in Latin to a person of quality in Holland; and now also put into English, 1679.

George Fox

George Fox grown too infirm to bear travelling, in consequence of the multiplied hardships, he had endured in long and afflicting imprisonments, and by other means, spent his latter years in the city of London and its neighbourhood, as the place where he could be most essentially and universally serviceable to his friends, particularly those under persecution and suffering for their religious testimony, his sympathy with them producing an anxious solicitude for their relief. Besides his public service in the meetings of his friends

friends in the city, and places adjacent; and writing several epistles of advice on various occasions; he spent much time in perusing the records of the affairs of the society, especially those of the meeting for sufferings, and the letters addressed thereto, which when communicated to the meeting, he was sure to press the speedy answering thereof, according to the exigency, in suffering cases; and to promote applications to government, both in behalf of particular sufferers, and for the ease of the body in general, by proper persons, who were more fit for active services than himself, in the decline of his health and strength.

The last epistle he wrote, was a consolatory epistle to friends in Ireland, with whom he deeply sympathized under the great hardships, dangers, and distressing sufferings, they were afflicted with by the war at that time carried on in that kingdom. And the next day after he had written this epistle, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, which was large (it being on the first day of the week) where he was enabled to preach the gospel fully and effectually, opening many deep and weighty truths with great power and clearness; after which he prayed. And after the meeting he went to Henry Goldney's in White-hart-court, adjoining to the meeting-house, and some friends accompanying him, he told them he thought he felt the cold strike to his heart as he came out of the meeting, adding, "I am glad I was there; now I am clear, I am fully clear." As soon as the company retired, he lay down upon a bed (as he sometime used to do, through weariness after a meeting) but soon rose again; and, feeling his strength decay,

C H A P.
I.
169c.

C H A P. I. decay, he was obliged to take his bed, where he lay in much contentment and peace. William Penn, who was present with him in the time of his confinement, hath reported "that as he lived so he died, feeling the same eternal power, that raised him to be greatly serviceable in his generation, and preserved him steadfast in a life of righteousness, to raise him above the fear of death in his last moments. In full assurance he triumphed over death; and was so calm in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice: Recommending to some of us, who were with him, the dispersion of an epistle he had lately written, and some of his books; but above all the care of friends, and, of all friends, those in Ireland and America, twice over repeating '*mind poor friends in Ireland and America.*' And to some, who came in and enquired how he felt himself? he answered, never heed; the Lord's presence is over all weakness and death, the seed reigns, blessed be the Lord." He had the comfort of a short illness, and his senses clear to the last. He survived his last ministerial labour only two days, being removed from works to rewards on the succeeding third day of the week, in perfect love and unity with his brethren, and in peace and good-will to all mankind, the 13th of the 11th month, 1690, in the 67th year of his age.

His funeral from the meeting at White-hart-court on the 16th of the same month was attended by a great concourse of friends, and other people of diverse sorts (for though he had many enemies, yet many others had a high esteem of his signal virtues) to friends burying-ground near Bunhill fields where (as well as in the meeting) several

several affecting testimonies were borne, under the lively sense and remembrance of his extraordinary services, during his life; after which his body was decently interred: but his memory, and the fruits of his religious labours, still survive.

C H A P.
I.
1690.

He was a man of tall stature and large body, but remarkably temperate in eating, drinking and sleeping. His deficiency in literature, and want of a liberal education, have furnished a topic of ridicule and contempt to the generality of writers who have taken notice of him. But William Penn, who had the opportunity of knowing him better, and of discovering under the unpolished surface, the intrinsic value of his character, describes him to be "a man whom God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth; a discerner of other men's spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though the side of his understanding, which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructive it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it shewed beyond contradiction, that God sent him, in that no art or parts had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent and necessary truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit
" or

CHAP. "or wisdom to recommend them. So that as
 1. "to man he was an original, being no man's
 1690. "copy."

He ever confirmed the doctrines he promulgated, by the example he set, shewing forth the fruits of the spirit out of a good conversation: Upright, steadfast, pacific, sincere, innocent, disinterested, charitable, sympathizing and universally benevolent, he not only maintained the antient christian doctrine in words, but manifested in a practice uniformly regulated thereby, *that the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men, teacheth to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world.* And although esteemed a fool as to the wisdom that is from beneath, he was richly replenished with that *wisdom which is from above, which is pure, peaceable, gentle and easy to be entreated, without partiality and without hypocrisy; full of mercy, and full of good fruits;* and I am persuaded many have indulged their pride in ridiculing and censuring him, who fall far short of him in solid wisdom and pure virtue.

I have in my hands in manuscript the testimony of a * person generally allowed to be a very competent judge of men and things, who after remarking that G. F. dared to assert the freedom of man against the tyranny of customs, sprung up in the times of gothic barbarism and monkish ignorance, concludes "I revere that wisdom, and that goodness, who condescended to afford us such an example of primitive christianity in life, doctrine and conversation, so near our own times."

Thomas

* J. Fothergill.

Thomas Salthouse was living in Judge Fell's family at the time when George Fox came to Swarthmore, and was convinced by his ministry with the greatest part of that family. And being faithful to conviction, he some time afterward received a dispensation of the gospel, and was commissioned to preach it to others. In the year 1654 he travelled to London, from whence in company with Miles Halhead he went to Bristol; and thence westward towards Exeter: But numbers being discontented at this time with Oliver Cromwell's usurpation of the Government, encouraged the party called cavaliers to attempt an insurrection in the west, which was soon quashed; and guards being placed in these parts to take up such as were suspected to be assistant therein, when these friends reached Honiton, they were taken up and brought before Colonel Copleston, high sheriff of the county, on suspicion of being cavaliers, and of being concerned in the insurrection: And though upon examining them, he owned he believed them clear, he imprisoned them, and sent them away with a pass as vagrants * which is already related, together with their succeeding imprisonment by the procurement of George Brooks. After their release they went to their habitations in the north; but † Thomas Salthouse, in 1656, travelling again in the work of the ministry, returned into the western counties, and continued some time in that quarter, in the exercise of his gift, in the course whereof he was taken from a meeting at § Thomas Budd's at Martock in Somersetshire, and committed

C H A P.
1.
1690.
Thomas
Salthouse.

* See vol. i. p. 207, 208, 209. † J. Whiting, J. Desse,
vol. i. p. 578, &c. § See vol. i. p. 267.

CHAP. committed by Robert Hunt and John Cary to
 1. Ivelchester jail, as a dangerous, wandering and
 1690. idle person, till the quarter sessions, where the justices tendered him the oath of abjuration, for his refusal whereof they fined him 5*l.* and remanded him to prison till he should pay it, where he continued a prisoner about a year.

After his release he prosecuted his travels for promoting religion and righteousness in different parts of the nation; and in 1660 returned again into the west, and was again imprisoned at Ivelchester in the 11th month that year, together with his companion John Scaife, and many others; at the ensuing assizes at Chard, the greatest part of their fellow prisoners were released, but these two and a few more were detained till the ensuing sessions; at which the rest were discharged; but the court required sureties of Thomas Salthouse and John Scaife for their going home, the former into Lancashire, and the latter into Westmoreland, and for their coming no more into Somersetshire for three years; terms which they could not comply with: Wherefore Thomas Salthouse was sent back to prison, and John Scaife to the house of correction as a vagabond. They were detained till the latter end of the third month, and then enlarged upon the king's proclamation for setting the Quakers at liberty. § He was again taken up with Thomas Lower, on account of an insurrection in the month of October the same year; but after a long examination and a detention of three days being found innocent, they were discharged.

After

After a considerable portion of his life spent C H A P.
 between travelling and labouring for the promo- 1.
 tion of truth, and suffering for his testimony 1690.
 thereto, he married in Cornwall, and settled his
 habitation at the town called St. Austel in that
 county: Yet continued in frequent visits to dif-
 ferent parts of the nation, in the exercise of his
 ministry; and, although he escaped imprisonment
 for some time after this, he did not escape out of
 the reach of the informers, when they were set
 to work; for, in the 12th month, 1681, was the
 funeral of Benjamin Growden, a man well be-
 loved of his neighbours, many of whom attend-
 ing his funeral, † Thomas Salthouse addressed
 them in a brief exhortation suitable to the oc-
 casion, i. e. to seriousness and sobriety, remind-
 ing them of the certainty of death and judg-
 ment, and a retribution according to their works,
 &c. This exhortation he delivered in the open
 burying place at Tregangreves, to an audience
 of many good christians, loyal subjects, and pro-
 fessors of the protestant religion as by law esta-
 blished. On such an occasion, and to such an
 assembly, one would scarce expect, that reminding
 men of their mortality, and inciting them to
 prepare for death, could have been liable to the
 penalties of any law: Yet upon the oath of two
 informers, who were there watching for their
 prey, several of those present were convicted un-
 heard, and fined for a conventicle by three jus-
 tices, Sir Joseph Tredenham, Joseph Sawle and
 William Mohun; amongst whom Thomas Salt-
 house was fined 20l. for preaching: For which,
 shortly after, goods were taken out of his shop to

VOL. III.

R

the

† Basse, vol. i. p. 123.

CHAP. the value of 29l. 9s. 9d. He was again com-
 1.
 1690. mitted to Launceston jail, and with several others,
 for declining to take an oath, was brought to
 the assizes in the 6th month 1683, where the
 oath was again tendered them in open court, and
 upon conviction of refusing it, sentence of pre-
 munire was passed upon them, under which they
 were detained in prison near three years, till they
 were discharged by King James's general par-
 don.

After his release from this his last imprison-
 ment he continued his visits to his friends, as he
 felt the draft of duty and brotherly affection ex-
 citing him thereto; till a period was put to all his
 labours and sufferings by his removal out of this
 life, which happened in the 12th month, 1690,
 at his house in Cornwall, about the 60th year of
 his age.

He was a man of a good natural capacity, and
 adorned with an excellent gift in the ministry;
 remarkably affable and pleasant in his conversa-
 tion, which procured him the respectful regard
 of many others as well as friends. † He wrote
 some notable tracts and divers excellent epistles
 to friends, and is no doubt at rest from his la-
 bours, and his works follow him.

† J. Whiting.

C H A P. II.

I R E L A N D.

Friends in Ireland recommended a Collection for their suffering Brethren in England.—Account of Thomas Carleton.—James Barry calumniates the People called Quakers, and being desired to give them a Meeting, evades it.—W. Edmundson warns his friends of an approaching Day of Trial.—The Earl of Tyrconnel disarms the Protestants.—Many of whom flee to England.—The Natives spirited to Insolence.—W. Edmundson and others abused by Troopers.—A Massacre apprehended.—W. Edmundson and two of his Neighbours go to Dublin to complain of these Abuses.—Tyrconnel reluctant to hear them.—They apply to Colonel Russel, Lord Granard and Lord Mountjoy.

FRIENDS in Ireland still appear less liable to sufferings than their brethren in England, their principal sufferings being for the non-payment of tithes, and the unreasonable costs of recovery in the bishops courts; on which occasion they petitioned the lord lieutenant and council: But this people being as yet much exposed to great sufferings in England by the rapacity of the informers and otherwise, furnished a fresh instance of the sympathetic concern and mutual benevolence, which prevailed amongst them, as members of

C H A P.
II.

1684.

Friends in Ireland recommended a collection for the relief of those in England

C H A P.

II.

1684.

Account of
Thomas
Carleton

one family all the world over. Their brethren in Ireland understanding that many had been, by the ravages of these informers, and penalties severely inflicted upon them for their religious testimonies, reduced to necessitous and distressed circumstances, took their suffering case into consideration at their national meeting this year, and recommended a collection towards their relief, to be made by friends in the several provinces.

This year died at Ballinacarrick, county Wicklow, Thomas Carleton, a native of Cumberland, where he was convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, and joined them in society, after passing through many spiritual conflicts, of which the reader may find a clear account, written by himself, in Rutty's history of the rise and progress of this people in Ireland, to which, to avoid unnecessary prolixity, I refer.

He removed to reside in Ireland about the year 1673; was a man of greater abilities than many others, of a good understanding and clear discernment, yet of an humble spirit, ready to prefer others before himself. As a member of religious community, he was circumspect and exemplary in his conversation, zealous and diligent for keeping good order therein: he was an able minister, being endowed with a divine gift to minister from; whereby he was instrumental both to convince strangers, and to confirm, edify and provoke to diligence those who were already convinced: He was also well qualified to exercise his pen in asserting and defending the principles of his profession against its opponents; and patient in suffering for them, as appears from a tract he published while a prisoner in Carlisle jail for tithe, entitled "The captives complaint," or

“or the prisoners plea against the burdensome
 “and contentious title of tithes,” wherein are
 laid down the several reasons against the propriety of paying tithes in this evangelical day and dispensation. He published some other small tracts, particularly an excellent general epistle of admonition and advice to friends in Ireland and elsewhere.

C H A P.
 II.
 1685.

In consequence of the prohibition issued by the government of Ireland last year but one, the other bodies of dissenters deserted their meeting-houses, and met more privately: But the people called Quakers in this nation, like their brethren in England, continued their public meetings, both for the worship of God, and those for discipline, wherein being strengthened and comforted, they were favoured with the increase of peace in themselves, and near unity one with another. Their public meetings were crowded by the resort of numbers of other societies, with many of whom their innocent fortitude, in openly bearing their testimony to the propriety of meeting to worship the Almighty, according to the persuasion of their consciences, had gained them a good report. While some of the other societies, of dissenters who absconded, or met in private, suffered their minds to be filled with envy and prejudice against them, principally because they would not desert their public assemblies, as themselves had done.

Among the rest, one James Barry, an independent preacher in Dublin, published many accusations and groundless calumnies against this people. Upon hearing thereof, some of them applied to him, to give them a public meeting, in order to make good his charges, or furnish them with a fair

James Barry, calumniating friends and desired to give them a meeting, evades it.

C H A P. 11. a fair opportunity of clearing themselves: but he made many excuses, would not give them an hearing, and notwithstanding continued his railings against them; by which conduct, instead of gaining his ends in depriving them of any part of that estimation which they had obtained in the opinion of the public, he preached away many of his own hearers, who, like the noble Bereans, came to friends meetings to satisfy themselves whether these reflections were true or no; and by the ministry of John Burnyeat and others, their prejudices were removed; they were convinced, joined themselves to, and became afterwards very serviceable members of, the society.

At this time the government having made choice of some friends to serve in offices in corporations, and to act as magistrates, and some few having accepted thereof, though it was not of their own seeking, a paper of tender advice was drawn up by order of a general meeting, to those friends who had engaged in these offices, to act conscientiously in every station; to shine as lights in the world, and be punctual in distributing justice with impartiality.

William Edmundson warns friends of an approaching day of trial.

William Edmundson, after his return from America, and some stay at home, renewed his travels in various parts of this nation, in the exercise of his ministry. In his progress in which service, his spirit was deeply affected with an humbling sense of great afflictions and trials approaching, which would try the inhabitants of the land; when the carcases of men would be spread on the earth as dung; under the impression whereof he plainly warned friends and others, in many public meetings, and advised his

his friends particularly to contract their concerns C H A P. 11.
 in the world, that they might be prepared to re-
 ceive the Lord in his judgments that were at
 hand; and to flee to him for succour, that they
 might find refuge in his protection. 1685.

And the times soon after began to look gloomy and threatening to the protestants of this nation, in a much greater degree than in England. The Earl of Clarendon, although the king's brother-in-law, had ben removed from the station of lord lieutenant, to make way for the Earl of Tyrconnel, who, from his first advancement to this office, seemed determined, by the most arbitrary and undisguised measures, to humble the protestant subjects; destroy their interest, power and property in the nation; and transfer them Earl of Tyrconnel disarms the protestants.
 into the hands of the popish inhabitants; and to establish his despotic government over the heads of the former, he disarmed them, and modelled and composed an army chiefly of the latter; so that the leading men among the protestants, and many others of all ranks, recollecting the cruelties of the Irish in the massacre of 1641, which many still living could remember, and others had Many protestants flee to England.
 heard dismal accounts of from their parents, being terrified at the prospect of the insecurity of their persons and properties, and dreading the repetition of the former barbarities, fled to England for safety, leaving their possessions open to the invasion of their enemies *.

Every succeeding season presented a succession of terrors and injuries to the protestants, and encreased the number of refugees. Tyrconnel proceeded with precipitancy and violence in establishing 1687.

* W. Edmundson's journal.

C H A P.

11.

1687.

The natives
spirited to
insolence.

establishing the civil government, as well as the military power in the hands of the Romanists: they were put in possession of the council table, the courts of judicature and bench of justice—the charters of Dublin and all the corporations were recalled—protestant freemen expelled, Roman catholics introduced, and the latter sect, who were the majority in number, were now invested with the whole power of the kingdom*.

By this partiality of the government in their favour, the natives of the lower classes assumed a spirit of insolence and abuse, to the encreasing the terror of the disarmed protestants, who saw no safety but in exile or the shelter of fortresses.

William Edmundson among others was a great sufferer at this time, who, although an inoffensive man, and principled against taking up arms; yet, being much respected by, and looked upon as an eminent man, among the protestants, in the neighbourhood of his residence, a man of fortitude, and one, who, having frequently made applications to government in favour of his friends, was known and respected by several of the leading men on both sides, and was now very serviceable in like applications on behalf of his protestant neighbours, was marked out as an object of abuse in this unsettled time. A party of Sir Maurice Eustace's troopers came into these parts, committed many violent abuses upon several protestants in and about Mountmelick. Some of them came to William's house, and made him a sharer in their injurious treatment, taking him by the hair of the head, and dragging

William
Edmundson
and others
abused by
troopers.

* Hume.

ging him about the yard amongst their horses feet, without the least provocation: some with clubs, and others with pistols cocked, *swore they would kill him*; upon hearing which, his wife was so terrified, that she desired them, *to take all they had, so that they would spare her husband's life*. Report went to Mountmelick that William Edmundson was killed, which made the inhabitants of that town conclude that a general massacre of the protestants was determined upon, being persuaded William Edmundson would give them no occasion. Many of the protestants fled in consternation to the bogs and woods to conceal themselves.

C H A P.
II.
1687.

A massacre
apprehend-
ed.

After these troopers were gone off, William went next morning to Mountmelick to confer with the principal inhabitants, who had not fled, who were glad to see him alive, but seemed of the opinion, that this violent treatment of protestants was a forerunner of a massacre. William was of a different sentiment, apprehending it was rather with design to alarm and terrify all the English settlers, to induce them to flee to England, that they might get the country and all their substance to themselves, than any intention of a massacre. He advised them to take full examinations of the abuses, and petition the government; and thereby they might probably make some discovery of their intentions. His proposal being approved, he was desired to undertake the journey, as none else durst. Although he was sensible of the jeopardy attendant upon the undertaking, as at the hazard of his life; yet, perceiving it might be conducive to the general security of that neighbourhood, he assumed his usual courage, to

W Edmundson with two of his neighbours go to Dublin, to lay these abuses before government.

He

C H A P. II. He pitched upon two of the townsmen to accompany him, who assented; and next day, taking their journey by an unusual road, for fear of being way-laid, they arrived safely in Dublin.

Tyrconnel hears their complaint reluctantly.

They wait upon Col. Russel, Lord Granard, and Lord Mountjoy.

W. E. having an interest with Lord Chief Justice Nugent, by his interference procured an audience of Tyrconnel, who appeared to hear his complaint with reluctance, and gave him little encouragement to expect redress from him. Not discouraged by his cool reception here, he resolved to prosecute the matter to the utmost; and with his companions (whose complaints Tyrconnel would not even hear) waited upon Colonel Russel, who was colonel of the regiment to which these troopers belonged, and gave him a relation of the abuses they had committed, and the general consternation of the English inhabitants. He, who was a protestant, seemed alarmed at the report, and expressed his apprehensions, that, "If such proceedings met not with exemplary punishment, it was time for every man to look to himself;" but he would go to the Duke, and remonstrate against the iniquity of such proceedings*. They applied next to Lord Granard, the lieutenant general, who, upon hearing their account, in great dissatisfaction remarked, that *he was general and no general*; and determined also to remonstrate to the Lord Lieutenant Tyrconnel upon the subject. They applied also to Lord Mountjoy, and others of the principal men among the protestants. By these successive applications, the rumour of these proceedings spread; and Tyrconnel sending for William,

* Colonel Russel soon after went over to England.

William, seemed displeased, and said, *They had* CHAP. 11.
made a great noise in the city, and wanted to
 know, *If they had witnesses ready,* to which Wil- 1687.
 liam replied in the affirmative. They were then
 referred to Lord Chief Justice Nugent, before
 whom they appeared next morning, as did also
 Sir M. Eustace and the troopers, who, being ex-
 amined, all denied the fact. William then be-
 ing asked, if he knew any of them that had
 abused him, challenged one, who confessed; and
 then the officer, who headed the party, was or-
 dered to discover the rest, which he did; upon
 this they were disarmed, and sent to Marybo-
 rough jail. William and his companions, ap-
 prehending they had discovered their real inten-
 tion, returned home. Afterwards, at their re-
 quest, William forgave the troopers, and pro-
 cured their horses and arms to be returned to
 them.

They are re-
 ferred to the
 Chief Justice
 Nugent, by
 whom the
 troopers are
 committed
 to jail.

C H A P. III.

Act of Settlement repealed.—King James lands in Ireland, which becomes the Seat of War.—The People called Quakers keep their Habitations and Meetings in the Midst of Danger.—National Meeting 3^{mo}, O. S. now 5^{mo}.—Ditto 9^{mo}, now 11^{mo}.—The Citizens of Londonderry shut their Gates against King James's Army.—The War breaking out, Friends (with others) exposed to great Injury and Hardship.—An Army arrives from England.—Battle of the Boyne.—King James leaves the Kingdom.—Parties of the Irish Army cruelly plunder the Protestants.—William Edmundson proposeth to his Irish Neighbours an Interchange of good Offices.—Which he maketh good on his Part, notwithstanding their Insincerity.—King William publisheth a general Proclamation of Pardon.

C H A P.
III.

1689.
Act of settlement
repealed.

THAT William Edmundson's conjecture was well-grounded, appeared manifest by the proceedings of the parliament, which was afterwards summoned by King James to meet in Dublin. One of their first measures was to repeal the act of settlement, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates; and the bill was so severely framed, that no regard was paid to such protestant owners, as had purchased estates for valuable considerations; no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows; the possessor

possessor or tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. They also passed an act of attainder against all the protestants, who were absent from the kingdom, and against all those who should retire to any part of the three kingdoms, which did not own the authority of King James. By these two acts they had gained the point in view, by stripping the protestants present and absent of all their property, and taking it into their own possession, if they could have retained power to secure it †.

CHAP.
III.
1689.

The late King James upon his desertion of England retired to France, where he was very cordially and hospitably received by Lewis XIV. who also assisted him with some forces and a considerable number of officers; arms for the use of his numerous adherents in Ireland; a large sum of money; a fleet and transport ships to land them there, which was effected in the first month of this year; and in consequence thereof, this nation becoming the theatre of a war, threatening the utter ruin of all the English protestants, encreased the number of refugees into England or into garrisons. But through all, the people called Quakers generally kept their habitations, and kept up their religious meetings, placing their confidence in divine protection, surrounded as they were with perils on every hand. For they were not only exposed to the depredations of soldiers, permitted to live upon free quarter, and countenanced by their officers to be very abusive; but to the more savage devastations and cruelties of armed bodies of banditti, under no restraint or discipline, termed Tories and rapparees,

King James lands in Ireland, which becomes the seat of war,

The people called Quakers keep their habitations and meetings in the midst of danger.

† Smollet.

CHAP. rees, who infested every quarter of the nation,
 III. plundering and burning all before them.

1689.

Notwithstanding the imminent danger of travelling in a nation thus circumstanced, yet such was the zeal of friends at this time for the discharge of their religious duties, and for their own edification, and growth in religious experience, and such their faith and confidence in the protection of divine providence, that all the terrifying prospects and impending dangers could not prevent them from resorting from the different parts of the kingdom to the national meeting in Dublin in the third month this year, even at the hazard of their lives.

National
meeting,
3mo.

The principal business, which engaged the deliberations of the present and succeeding national meeting, was the distressed condition of their brethren through the nation, and the ordering of convenient supplies proportioned to their necessities. They received accounts of the sufferings of friends in several parts of the nation by robberies and spoils by soldiers and others, and the losses sustained by friends of the province of Leinster appear to be above 900l. Hereupon friends made application to King James, who received them kindly, and promised that they should be protected †*.

At

† Rutty.

* Dublin the 13th of 3d month, 1689.

Our half-year's meeting is over, where were assembled many friends and brethren from divers parts of the nation according to our usual manner. We enjoy our meetings peaceably and quiet generally over the nation, and in most places our meetings are large, and many people come in; and all people have their liberty in the free exercise of their consciences in matters
 of

At the succeeding half year's meeting in the ninth month, it appeared, that the losses of friends being still continued and increased, those of the friends of Leinster and Munster amounted to above 7000l. No account appears in my author from Ulster, which I apprehend, being now the seat of war, must have been the most considerable, but that friends, as well as other inhabitants, were too much alarmed and distressed to find leisure to keep and return regular accounts of their sufferings, though many of them were spoiled of all their substance † *.

C H A P.

III.

1689.

Half-year's
meeting,
9mo.

After

of religion; and as for friends and truth, they are in good esteem both with high and low. The Lord's care and mercy over us hath been largely manifest, and friends do learn great experience of the preservation of the mighty arm of the Lord in this great day of trial, which is upon this nation; yet to our joy and comfort friends are carried over it in the faith of the son of God, and have been preserved miraculously, even beyond our expectation in several places, where their trials have been very great, and the dangers, as to appearances, dreadful; yet friends have kept to their habitations, trusting in the Lord, and following their lawful concerns and business.

At this half-year's meeting our hearts were made more than ordinarily glad to see one another's faces in such a time as this, and the Lord's power and presence was with us, that crowns our meetings; and in the sense and sweetness of the same are the most of our friends and brethren this day gone towards their outward beings in the peace of God, and in great love and unity, which did preciouslly abound amongst us in this our meeting throughout all our concerns and affairs. — *Extract of a letter from John Burnyeat.*

† Rutty.

* At Cavan (a place that lay open to both armies and to the cruelty of the rapparees) several friends kept their habitations, and held their usual meetings; and though sometimes in skirmishes between the two armies many were slain, their
lives

CHAP.

III.

1689.

The protestants of Londonderry resolve to defend themselves, and shut the gates.

After King James's arrival in Dublin, and establishing a more orderly government, than had subsisted there for some time before, the protestants became better settled in their minds, and the fears of a massacre began to die away; but they were still exposed to great devastation, their stock and cattle being mostly taken away from them or killed; friends were obnoxious to these depredations in common with other protestants.

James was in Ireland at the head of a considerable army, and he and his partisans possessed of the whole power and command of the nation for several months, before any forces arrived from England to give them opposition: But on the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates, and resolved to defend themselves against the Lord Lieutenant, being at their request supplied with some arms and ammunition from England; and the protestants in other parts of the province of Ulster, which had suffered most severely in the massacre of 1641, who retained the deepest impressions of terror and resentment, seemed resolved to prepare for their own defence against the repetition of such inhuman barbarities, as they recollected, or had heard, were then exercised by the merciless natives on their cotemporaries or predecessors. In order to quash this insurrection, the army was put in motion to march to the North, which now being likely to become a scene of war and devastation; William Edmundson, in company

lives were wonderfully preserved; but of their substance they were spoiled and entirely stripped, and at last commanded by the chief officer of the Irish army to quit their habitations, and their houses were set on fire.

pany with some friends of Dublin (from the impulse of that universal fraternal regard, which subsisted amongst the members of this society at this time) was zealously concerned to use all his and their interest and influence with the chief officers to spare and protect their friends who were not in arms, and many of them promised they would, and performed their promises.

As the storm of war gathered, the calamities of the peaceable inhabitants, in which number are comprised the people called Quakers, increased. The rapparees on one hand plundered many of the English without mercy, and on the other hand, the army marching, and being quartered upon them, took from them what they pleased; the protestant families were but as servants to wait upon them, and dress them what provisions their houses afforded, so that, between the one and the other, the melancholy prospect of famine for themselves seemed most they had to look for. *

At length an army from England arrived, under the command of Duke Schomberg; but the ill success of the campaign, and the miserable situation of the Irish protestants, determined King William to take the command upon himself, and attempt their relief. He landed at Carrickfergus in the summer, 1690, marched forward without much delay, and came in view of King James's army, which had taken an advantageous post on the banks of the Boyne to dispute the passage of that river; but the English army, having made good their passage, attacked the Irish, and put them to flight.

C H A P.
III.
1690.

The war breaking out, friends with others exposed to great loss and hardship.

An army arrives from England.

Battle of the Boyne

VOL. III.

S

King

* William Edmundson's Journal.

C H A P.
III.

1690.

King James
leaves the
kingdom.

King James immediately after this battle made a precipitate retreat by Dublin to Waterford, and from thence embarked for France. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was abandoned by the papists in authority under him, whereby the civil government was deserted; and, although measures were taken by the bishops of Meath and Limerick to secure the peace of the city, and King William's speedy arrival there secured it, yet anarchy overspread the country, and left the defenceless inhabitants exposed to greater danger and damage in many parts than ever.

The people called Quakers having generally kept their habitations, as before observed, while they had any to dwell in, were deep sharers in the calamities attendant upon this war. Those suffered by William Edmundson are perhaps as severe as most, at least of them we have the most particular account in the journal of his life, written by himself, from whom, as a man of indisputable veracity and an eye-witness, I have principally deduced my relation of the state of this nation in this distressing season; and the relation of his particular sufferings exhibits a lively description of the violence of injury, abuse and cruelty, which afflicted the protestant and English settlers during these times of tumult and civil war.

Inflexible virtue generally procures respect and confidence. William Edmundson's protestant neighbours, being mostly driven by violence from their dwellings, took shelter under his roof, until every room was full, and brought their cattle which had escaped rapine to his land as to a place of greatest safety; but after the battle

battle of the Boyne, parties of the Irish army dispersing through the country with their hostile disposition and rivetted aversion to the English, aggravated by their late disappointment and defeat, set no bounds to their plundering and cruelty; so that the protestants in those parts, after losing most if not all of their property, were forced to take sanctuary in the neighbouring parish church (so called) at Rosenallis, and other places more secure than private dwellings, to save their lives. For it was now out of William Edmundson's power to protect them or himself from rapacity or violence. He saith, "They plundered my house several times over, and we were in jeopardy of our lives, for they were wicked and blood-thirsty." In this extremity of danger his family were forced to go out of the way, and his wife was earnest in her solicitations for him to go aside also, lest he should fall a sacrifice to their insatiable vengeance, being willing to venture her own life to save his; but he had not freedom to leave his habitation, although now staying there at the risque of his life. Yet through the protection of providence their lives were preserved, but they lost all their household furniture, which the pillagers could find, and thought worth carrying away, and all their horses that were left.

Now violence was let loose without restraint; no power to controul, no government they could apply to for redress. The straggling parties of the Irish army, the bands of robbers, and persons disaffected to King William, gave the full swing to their vindictive tempers and avaricious rapine; whilst the remaining protestants, defenceless and unprotected, had only to

C H A P.
III.
1690.
Parties of
the Irish ar-
my cruelly
plunder the
protestants.

C H A P. submit in silent sorrow; for it was a considerable time before any of the English army came into this quarter to protect them, and when they came they were not very active in their protection.

III.

1690.

W. Edmundson
proposeth to
the Irish re-
sident in his
neighbour-
hood an in-
terchange of
good offices,

In this emergency William Edmundson applied to the principal persons amongst the Irish in the neighbourhood who staid at home, desiring them to recollect that they (and the protestants) had lived together as peaceable neighbours, and wished they might do so still: Though at present the English in this neighbourhood lay exposed to the spoil of their countrymen, yet they might easily foresee it would soon be like to come to their turn to be obnoxious to similar sufferings; for the English army being masters in the field would soon advance, and probably revenge the wrongs of their countrymen upon them. He therefore proposed to them a mutual interchange of good offices towards each other with their respective parties; that they should exert their endeavours to prevail upon their countrymen to desist from robbing the English of the little they had left; and that when the English army advanced, the English protestants should use their influence and interest with them in their favour. This proposal they seemed gladly to accept, and promised with many oaths firmly to adhere to it on their parts. But their promises and oaths appear to have been only a cloak of deceit; no check was given to the nocturnal depredations of the rapparees, scarce a night passing but some of the English neighbours were robbed and wounded; and when William Edmundson remonstrated to them, and reminded them of

which they
seem cheer-
fully to ac-
cept, but are
insincere.

the

the obligation of their sacred promise, a deceitful plea of ignorance was all the satisfaction he got.

C H A P.
III.

1690.

W Ed-
mundson
notwith-
standing en-
deavours to
serve the
Irish.

William Edmundson, actuated by the benevolent principles of true christianity, which instruct us to love them that hate us, and do good to them that despitefully use and persecute us, did not look upon the violation of good faith in the Irish as any plea to justify him in the like practice. The most considerable family of the Irish in that neighbourhood was that of the name of Dunn, who being a powerful family among the natives, had they acted sincerely, might, it is thought, have prevented much of the mischief perpetrated in that quarter; but there seemed reason to suspect they encouraged it underhand, and shared in the spoil. King William, soon after his entrance into Dublin, published a proclamation of pardon to all the common people, who had served against him, and declared that the Irish and others, who would live peaceably at home, should not be molested: notwithstanding which, as parties of the Scots and English advanced, they did retaliate upon them. Two captains with a body of near three hundred soldiers came into the neighbourhood of Mountmelick, drove off abundance of cattle, and took some prisoners, amongst whom was William Dunn and two of his sons, one of whom they had stripped in order to hang him, under suspicion of his being a rapparee. In this reverse of their circumstances the Duns sent with all expedition to William Edmundson, to request his interposition, who immediately mounted his horse, rode after, and overtook the party. He reasoned closely with the officers, as the persons that must answer for the violation

King Wili-
am pub-
lishes a ge-
neral pro-
clamation
of pardon.

or

C H A P.

III.

1690.

of the king's late proclamation, and for the reflection, which the permitting the army to plunder, would bring upon his honour, and that of the English nation. By his reasoning he prevailed upon the captains to relinquish the prey, if the soldiers could be brought to consent. These were greatly enraged, and ready to put all the Irish to the sword; yet William at the hazard of his own life, by venturing amongst them while exasperated at the thoughts of losing their booty, so patiently reasoned the matter as, with the captains assistance, to prevail upon them to give up the greatest part of their prey. He also obtained the release of Dunn and his sons, with all their cattle.

It was not on this occasion only, but as often as exigency required, that he was ready to interpose his good offices in favour of his Irish neighbours. He often interceded with the English soldiers to give back the cattle they had taken, and persuaded them to return part at least, or bought them with his own money at a low price, and returned them to the owners. He let their horses graze on his land, to screen them from plunder. One might naturally imagine, that such acts of extraordinary kindness would produce sensations of respect and gratitude in the most savage tempers, but it had not that effect upon those bigots; they were as ungrateful for the good offices done them, as they were faithless in the performance of those, which they had solemnly promised to do; and the only advantage William Edmundson reaped by his well-meant exertions to serve them, lay in the consciousness of acting from the purest motives.

C H A P.

C H A P. IV.

The Irish Army left under no strict Discipline plunder the Country.—The Half-year's Meeting held in course, notwithstanding the perilous Season.—Friends in England contribute to the Relief of their suffering Friends in Ireland.—William Edmundson plundered.—The Times look more threatening, yet he is not free to leave his Habitation.—Colonel Bierly solicited for Protection, but treats the Solicitation with Neglect.—William Edmundson's House burned, and himself and his Sons taken Prisoners, and sentenced to be put to death.—William Dunn takes them from the Rapparees to carry them to Athlone, where they are in Danger from the Populace.—Brought before Colonel Grace, who releases them upon Parole, shortly after which they are set at liberty.—William Edmundson's Wife, stripped by Rapparees, contracts a Cold from which she never recovered.—William Edmundson still in Danger.—Account of George Gregson.—Ditto of John Burnyeat.—Termination of the War.

WHEN the campaign was over, the English army was dispersed into winter quarters, and the number of rapparees increased greatly. Lauzun, the French general, went back to France with the auxiliaries of that nation, and Tyrconnel along with him, to solicit fresh aid. So that their king, their general and their go-

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IV.

1690.

The Irish
army left
under no
strict di-
scipline, plun-
dered the
country.

vernor

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IV.

1690.

vernor having left the Irish army with arms in their hands, under little or no strict government, they also formed themselves into separate parties of free-booters or rapparees, and burnt and plundered the country without mercy. The English army in the mean time enjoying their ease in their quarters, and not intirely desisting from imitating the rapine of the enemy, gave little protection to the defenceless protestants, who were now more dreadfully harrassed, terrified and abused than before. This winter proved the accumulation of their sorrows.

The half-year's meeting held in course, notwithstanding the perilous season.

The half-year's national meeting of the people called Quakers at Dublin approached, and was held as usual in the ninth month (November) of this year, to which friends from the fundry quarters of the nation resorted with their usual zeal and diligence, amidst surrounding perils, and were uncommonly refreshed together, under an humbling sense of thankfulness to that divine power which had graciously preserved their lives through so many dangers, and given them this renewed opportunity of rejoicing in seeing one another's faces again in safety, of strengthening the bonds of gospel fellowship, of enquiring into and receiving intelligence of the state and necessities of their brethren in the different quarters of the nation, and raising supplies to the utmost of their ability; but, through the repeated losses they had sustained by continual depredations, numbers who before were in affluent or comfortable circumstances were reduced to penury themselves. Yet those who resided in Dublin and other places garrisoned with the English escaped better; and it appears probable they were in a capacity to spare some of

of their substance for the relief of the sufferers, and with this people the extension of relief to their friends and others generally accompanied the capacity to do it.

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1690.

As early as the half-year's meeting in 9^{mo}. last year, the meeting for sufferings in London, feeling for the distresses of their friends in Ireland, had commenced a correspondence to enquire into their state, and offer them their brotherly assistance, as far as occasion might require. The said half-year's meeting, in reply, acknowledged their tender care, but at that time declined the acceptance of their friendly offer; the several provinces being as yet, notwithstanding their losses, in a condition to administer the necessary relief; but, through the continued loss of their substance, and general impoverishment of the members of this society, by the violence of rapine, they found themselves under the necessity of accepting the benevolence of their brethren in England; they drew first for 600*l*. and afterwards friends of England remitted 150*l*. for the relief of friends of Ulster; and 1060*l*. more was sent from London, which in 1692 was distributed proportionably to each province. A letter was then sent to friends of London, acknowledging their brotherly kindness, and desiring them to stop any further remittances, hoping, upon the re-settlement of the nation in peace, to be able amongst themselves to contribute sufficiently to the future necessities of friends in their nation. So great and so universal was the near and sympathizing affection subsisting between the members of this society, that even from friends of Barbadoes 100*l*.

Friends in
Englnd
contribute
to the relief
of their suf-
fering bre-
thren in Ire-
land.

was

CHAP.

IV.

1690.

W. Ed-
mundson
plundered.

The times
more
threatening,
yet W. Ed-
mundson is
not free to
remove.

Col. Bierly
applied to
for protec-
tion, which
he treats
with ne-
glect.

was remitted for the relief of their brethren in Ireland, under their distressing sufferings.

By means of these aids, and by the protection of divine providence, the friends in Ireland were mostly enabled to weather out the storm, which seemed now at the height. William Edmundson, during his attendance on the half-year's meeting, received intelligence that the rapparees had carried off about twenty of his cows, but that none of his family had received any hurt. As soon as the meeting was over, returning home, he had the satisfaction to find his wife and family well; but the times looked still more gloomy and threatening; spoil and cruelty encreased; but, although imminent dangers surrounded these parts, he durst not remove to a place of greater safety. He was apprehensive that his removal might discourage his friends and protestant neighbours, and perhaps induce them to flee from their habitations, and thereby be in danger of perishing through want. But although he had the faith to believe that one hair of his head would not fall without the permission of divine providence, his stay with them was to be but short.

Of this he seemed to have a foresight; for on the 23d day of the same month, about ten days after his return, he applied to Colonel Bierly, governor of Mountmelick, and told him, if he did not use some means to succour their quarter, it would be to his own great damage, for he expected every night that his house would be burnt down; that if he gave way all the protestants thereabout would flee; that then the rapparees might burn and destroy all the forage

forage in the country, and thereby distress him-
 self and his garrison. Bierly took but little notice
 of his application, although the occasion was
 urgent; for that same night William Edmund-
 son's house was beset by several hundreds of
 these banditti, while the family were asleep, who
 fired vollies of shot through the windows, which
 were heard in Mountmelick, two miles off. Up-
 on this several of the inhabitants, by whom Wil-
 liam was greatly respected, waited upon Bierly,
 desiring him to order out a party to his
 relief, which he refused to grant. Then (as
 William was informed) a lieutenant applied to
 him for a party of men, saying that Wil-
 liam was an honest man, and he would relieve
 him or lose his life; but Bierly, who would
 neither take any step to protect a respectable in-
 habitant from danger, nor to relieve him when
 actually assaulted, answered the lieutenant, *that*
he would hang that man, that should stir out of the
garrison.

The rapparees having set fire to the house,
 William capitulated upon terms, to which they
 agreed. But he surrendered to men, insensible
 to every obligation of religion, conscience or
 honour. They first fell to pillaging whatever
 the fire had spared or had not reached. They
 left his wife without subsistence, having taken
 every head of cattle they had. They took Wil-
 liam and his two sons prisoners, bare-footed,
 bare-headed, and almost naked. In this condi-
 tion they took them in the night some miles
 through rough thickets, bushes, mire and water,
 up to their knees, although in the winter season.
 Their legs and feet were hereby much hurt and
 bruised. When they came into a neighbouring
 wood,

CHAP.
 IV.
 1690.

William
 Edmund-
 son's house
 burned, and
 himself and
 his sons ta-
 ken prison-
 ers.

CHAP. wood, they held a council upon them, and sentenced William to be shot, because he was a stout man; and his two sons to be hanged. William, who was naturally of an undaunted spirit, was not afraid to plead his cause, even with these barbarians. He told them, that many of them, knew him and his two sons also, and challenged them to prove that they had wronged any of their countryfolk to the value of one farthing, through all this time of civil disorder; but on the contrary, that he had exerted himself to serve and save them to the utmost of his power; sometimes with the hazard of his life amongst the English soldiers. They acknowledged, *They knew him to be an honest man*: Notwithstanding which they hoodwinked his two sons to put their barbarous design in execution, and having two fire-locks prepared to shoot them, they went about hoodwinking him also, but he told them, *they needed not, for he could look them in the face, and was not afraid to die.*

W. Dunn takes them from the rapparees, and carries them to Athlone.

But, just as they were about executing their cruel purpose, William Dunn, a lieutenant in the Irish army, and son to Captain Dunn before mentioned, came up and took them from these rapparees, to bring them prisoners to Athlone, the next Irish garrison, about twenty miles distant. He expected to make merit hereof with his superiors, and obtain some preferment. After he had detained them three days in a poor cottage in cold and hunger, he marched them to Athlone. On the way they were met by Richard Dunn and his brother-in-law, who, though so much obliged to William for his friendly services, treated him with railing language; could not repress the symptoms of their malignant joy
at

at his present circumstances, and in exultation told him they were going to burn Mountmelick, and the rest of the country that had hitherto escaped the flames. William commiserated his neighbours, but could not help them; but, if this was their purpose, they were prevented from executing it.

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When they arrived at Athlone, they appeared again in imminent danger of their lives; a great number of the populace and soldiers gathered about them, and at their head the high sheriff of the county, who stimulated them to mischief, by loading these inoffensive persons with opprobrious epithets, calling them *rebels and traitors*; so that it was admirable, that they were not stabbed with the bayonets and skeins by the soldiers and rabble; but that just then a person of genteel appearance made his way through the crowd, and, coming up to William, saluted him with respect, and vindicated him from the sheriff's reflections, calling to him aloud, "I have known him above twenty years, and know him to be an honest man, say what you will of him." This intervention of a stranger to William, was the means of quieting the evil disposition of the sheriff and of the crowd, which William esteemed as help raised in their great danger from among themselves by the direction of divine providence. He understood afterwards this man's name was Valentine Toole, lieutenant in the army, who also acquainted William that Dunn had informed against him.

After some little time they were brought up to the castle before Colonel Grace, governor of the town, and his council of officers, to be examined, before whom William appearing wrapped up

Brought before Colonel Grace, who released them on parole, and shortly after they got their liberty.

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up in an old blanket (almost his only cloathing) the colonel, not knowing him in this disguise, enquired of him his name and place of residence; to which answering, *I am old William Edmundson*, the colonel, who knew him well, and had been hospitably entertained by him, stood up, and with tears signified his sorrow to see him there in that condition. He then enquired of Dunn what he had against him, who advanced sundry false accusations, which William refuted clearly to the satisfaction of the colonel and council. At this the colonel grew angry with Dunn, and expressed his resentment at his treatment of so respectable a person. Dunn now, to excuse himself, said the rapparees were going to hang them, and that he brought them thither to save their lives, upon which the governor declared, that if he had them there he would hang them.

At the Moate, a few miles from Athlone, lived John Clibborn*, who was not as yet driven from his

* A meeting was settled at John Clibborn's, who kept his habitation long in much danger; and the meeting was kept up at this time with great difficulty, lying only six miles from Athlone, a chief Irish garrison, and place of refuge for that party, whence scouting parties often sallied to ravage the country, and whither the rapparees usually carried those captives, whom they were not permitted to murder, as they had done many. Whilst the said J. Clibborn could keep his house, it was an asylum to friends and others. Amongst these Anthony Robinson and John Millar, two of this society, who resided about three miles from Athlone, after they had their houses plundered, were threatened to be murdered with their families; but were rescued by a near neighbour, wife to an Irish justice of peace, who took them into her house, and kept them there till the band of robbers grew so insolent and outrageous as to force their way into the house after them, insomuch that, despairing

his habitation and hearing of William's captivity in that town, came to see him in his destitute condition, and supply him with provisions; and afterwards, upon becoming surety for his appearance, if called for, obtained the governor's consent to remove William and his sons to his house, upon parole; and shortly after they were set at liberty.

One of William's sons had a tanyard well stocked; and about a week after the burning of their house, while they were in confinement, William's wife thought it necessary to remove the hides and leather to a place of greater safety; and accordingly went, accompanied by several of their neighbours with horses and cars to assist in removing them. While they were loading the leather, &c. Colonel R. Dunn and his brother-in-law afore said, came upon them with a multitude of rapparees; whereupon the neighbours fled for their lives and left the horses, cars and loading which the rapparees seized and carried off. But the old woman, not being able to escape, they stripped her naked, and left her in that condition to walk home two miles in the month of December, whereby she caught a cold of which she never recovered, but died about seven months after. Dunn's egregious perfidy immediately met with exemplary vengeance. For the next morning a party of twenty-five troopers being sent from Mountmelick in pursuit of the plunderers, to whom (I have heard) about

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William Edmundson's wife assisted by her neighbours endeavouring to remove the stock of her son's tanyard, is surprized by rapparees.

William Edmundson's wife stripped by the rapparees, got a cold from which she never recovered.

despairing of their longer safety there, she desired them to escape with their lives if they could. She then conveyed them into her garden, whence with much difficulty they escaped into a neighbouring wood, where they lay concealed several days and nights in great terror and distress, and with great difficulty they got to the afore said John Clibborn's house.

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about sixty of the inhabitants joined themselves, they met with the said Dunn and several hundreds of the rapparees, whom they engaged. Dunn and his brother-in-law, with many others, were killed at the commencement of the engagement, upon which the rest sought their safety in flight, of whom a great number were taken prisoners, and safely brought off to Mountmelick.

William
Edmund-
son still in
danger.

After William had obtained his liberty, and was returned back into the neighbourhood of his former residence, he was not released from danger, being still the object of the cruel machinations of his popish neighbours, to whom he had been a peaceable neighbour and kind friend. For, so multiplied had the enormities of the bands of rapparees been through the winter, that as soon as the English army could be drawn out of their winter quarters, it was resolved to put a stop to their depredation, by driving them over the Shannon. And Major General Kirk, with part of the army, marched to Mountmelick with intention to settle garrisons in convenient places to protect the country. Rosenallis was pointed out to him as a convenient place, and information given him of William's sufferings and usage from the papists there. Whereupon he sent for William and ordered him to attend him to Rosenallis, which at the general's command he did.

In consequence of this, the popish neighbours, who kept their dwellings thereabout under the protection of king William's proclamation; and who, though they kept at home under this protection, favoured and harboured the rapparees, conceived a deep but concealed resentment against
William

William Edmundson, whom they causelessly suspected as the author of fixing a garrison there, to overawe them from harbouring those plunderers, and prevent their sharing in their plunder as heretofore. Therefore fully to satiate their vengeance, they procured eight or nine of the most determined of the rapparees, to lie in ambush between Mountmelick, where he dwelt after his house was burned, and Rosenallis his former residence, where his land lay, with a full determination to murder him. To draw him into the snare, two of his neighbours came to him, disguising their villainy under the mask of friendship, and endeavouring to make his christian disposition to serve them the instrument of his own destruction; fawningly requesting him to go to Rosenallis to speak to the officers of the garrison to be favourable to the inhabitants there, as they centered their hopes of being well-treated in his friendly interposition. But it was providentially ordered that he did not go that day. Two days after they came again with the same pretence; and now added that the soldiers were pulling down his out-houses, which had escaped the flames, when his house was burned. They used many arguments, under the treacherous veil of kindness and friendship, to persuade him to go, but he writes, "I was restrained by a secret hand, that knew their evil design, and would not suffer me to fall into their snare." The very next morning, one James Dobson with his son and cousin passing that way, these rapparees shot the son dead in the place, and took the other two into the woods, and there barbarously murdered them. Upon which they fled; and that night the popish inhabitants of this

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C H A P. quarter, conscious of the part they had acted, and fearing the punishment due to their crimes, fled also to the rapparees for protection.

1660. Friends keep their habitations, but others generally flee to gar-
risons. Many other friends, in common with every denomination of protestants, were exposed to the like losses, perils and perfidy, in this calamitous time. Others, who had staid, generally took refuge in the garrisoned places for their security; but friends kept their places and habitations, till they were driven therefrom by violence, placing their faith and confidence in divine protection, which, although permitting many of them to be tried with the loss of their substance, miraculously preserved their lives; so that we have no account of more than four that fell by the hands of violence, and two of these forwardly exposed themselves to danger.

A mortal distemper breaks out.

Besides the other trying calamities attendant upon war, at the return of the army to winter quarters, a mortal distemper overspread the country, which took off many of the inhabitants of every class and denomination. Many also who had been driven from their houses, and lost most or all of their substance, repining at this reverse of their circumstances, languished in sorrow till they died: which friends were greatly supported over, in resignation to the divine will, and quiet submission to the government of the sovereign ruler of the universe, who not only giveth, but also taketh away.

Account of Geo. Gregson of Lisnagarvy.

This year George Gregson of Lisnagarvy (now Lisburn) in the county of Antrim, departed this life. He was born in Lancashire, and educated in the popish persuasion; but was converted to the profession of the principles of the people called Quakers, and was faithful to the principle he

he professed. His conversion raised him many enemies, and much aversion and envy amongst those whose communion he had deserted, who propagated many false and malicious reports concerning him, which he bore with patience; and persevered with unshaken fortitude in the steady pursuit of peace of mind, whereby growing in religious experience, he received a gift in the ministry. His ministerial labours were effectually conducive to the converting of many from the evil of their ways, and opening their understandings to discover the way of life and salvation, being favoured with good natural parts, and a clear and agreeable manner of delivery in the expression of his sentiments on religious subjects. Great was his concern for the offspring of friends, and those newly convinced, that they might not rest contented in a profession of truth, received by education or tradition; or in the comprehension thereof in their understandings; but that they might be excited to press after the experience of the washing of regeneration, and be renewed in their minds thereby. He travelled in the exercise of his gift in Ireland and divers parts of England, and was a sufferer for his religious persuasion, both by imprisonment and spoil of goods. He retained his love to God and his brethren to the last period of his life; and at his death left a considerable part of his substance to several meetings in Ireland, and to friends in Lancashire.

In this year also the community at large, and friends of Ireland more particularly, sustained a loss in the removal of John Burnyeat of Dublin; whose travels and religious labours amongst his friends and others have been recited in va-

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Account of
the life, trav-
els, death
and charac-
ter of John
Burnyeat.

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 rious parts of this work. He was born in Cum-
 berland, of parents of good repute, who gave
 him a good education, suited to his circumstances
 and line of life. He was religiously inclined
 from his youth, delighted in reading the scrip-
 tures, and endeavoured from them to imbibe
 those virtues and practices that conduce to solid
 peace of mind. His solicitude to attain this im-
 portant acquisition also led him to enquire after,
 and apply to those teachers, who bore the cha-
 racter of men of religious experience, for di-
 rection and instruction in the way to true peace;
 but met not with that satisfactory intelligence,
 whereby he could obtain the desire of his soul,
 being more built up in the fashionable specula-
 tions of the age about religion, than instructed
 in the internal work, whereby the heart is pu-
 rified and changed. When George Fox came
 into the parts where he resided, he with many
 others were recommended to an instructor near
 at hand, the true light that enlighteneth every
 man that cometh into the world. John Burn-
 year was convinced by his doctrine in the year
 1653. And by turning the attention of his
 mind to the instruction of this internal monitor,
 and the discovery of this true light, he clearly
 perceived the emptiness of his former high pro-
 fession, and the danger and hazard of depending
 upon the imputed righteousness of Christ, whilst
 he lived in sin (a notion greatly prevailing
 amongst many high professors in those days) for
 he was now convinced that the guilt remained,
 while the body of death, leading by its power
 into actual sin, remained. Seeing the necessity
 of regeneration and holiness, he endured many
 deeply exercising conflicts with the corruption
 and

and infirmities of his heart, till in the due time, ^{C H A P. IV.} by the assistance of divine grace, victory over them was obtained; and sanctification in a good ^{1690.} measure perfected in him.

Being thus properly prepared for the reception of the gifts of the spirit, he was soon called to the work of the ministry; in the discharge whereof he was not slothful in business; but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, both in his native country, and in many foreign regions, where his friends were settled, to the convincing of many, of the truth which he published, and the confirmation and establishment of many in the way of righteousness and peace, as hath been variously related in the course of this work.

Amongst his cotemporaries he was greatly beloved, and highly esteemed for his many excellent qualities and services amongst them, from whom we have received the following character of him as a minister, a christian and a man. His depth in religious experience, through the effectual work of sanctification, and discovery of the mystery of the kingdom of heaven, through the illumination of the spirit of truth, qualified him, like the good householder in the gospel, to bring out of his treasury things new and old, for the edification of those to whom he ministered. He was far from being rash with his mouth, or hasty to utter any thing before God; frequently waiting a considerable time in awful silence and diligent attention of mind, for the renewed feeling of the word, which is quick and powerful, to animate his doctrine with the fresh savour of life before he stood up to minister, in order that his ministry (delivered with a natural unaffected eloquence, in the demonstration

He receives
a gift in the
ministry.

His character.

CHAP. tion of the spirit, and not in the oldness of the
 IV. letter) might be effectual to reach the divine wit-
 1690. ness in the consciences of his auditory.

Through this reverent attention, he was endowed with skill to divide the word aright, and administer consolation to the sincere and disconsolate believers; encouragement to the diffident: instruction to the young and inexperienced; and reproof to the insincere members, who disturbed the peace of the church by a spirit of contention, or dishonoured its character by licentious manners, inconsistent with the purity of its principles.

He confirmed his ministry by his example, his conversation being adorned with the christian virtues of humility, charity, meekness, patience, gravity and temperance, in a conspicuous degree; his natural temper was kind and benevolent; his constitution hardy, his resolution undaunted and persevering, in the discharge of manifest duty, which was put repeatedly to the trial, by his sharing in persecution in common with his brethren of that age.

His imprisonment.

1st. at Carlisle.

His first imprisonment was in Carlisle in 1655, at the instigation of one *Denton*, priest of Brigham in Cumberland, who promulgating in his sermon many false charges, bitter invectives and groundless calumnies against the people called Quakers in John's hearing, after he had finished it, John spake to him what was in his mind; to which the priest made little answer; but after his hearers had rudely assaulted him with their bibles and staves, till he was sore with bruises to a degree which affected him for some time, the priest commanded the constable to secure him, and a friend, who accompanied him, and next day

day had them before Launcelot Fletcher, who committed them to the county jail where John was detained twenty-three weeks. He was next imprisoned at Rippon in Yorkshire in 1662.

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1690.

Coming in the course of his religious travels to this town, and understanding that many of his friends of that place were in prison for meeting together to worship God, he thought it his duty to pay them a brotherly visit; and for uttering some words of exhortation and encouragement to them, the jailer took him before the mayor, who had in company with him the chancellor of the diocese and several aldermen. The

2d, at Rippon.

chancellor took upon him the office of chief magistrate in examining him, and sought to ensnare him in his words, that he might extort an occasion to commit him to prison; but when he could not get the advantage at which he aimed by these means, he grew angry, and, in order to attain his ends, was forced to resort to the usual snare, by causing the oaths to be tendered to him, and upon his declining to swear, he was committed to prison with his friends, who were twenty-four in number. Some time after the magistrates assembling in a bowling green, contiguous to the prison, for the diversion of bowls, during the time of the meeting for worship, which the prisoners kept up daily, they overheard John Burnyeat concerned in exhortation or prayer, and being provoked thereat, they commanded him to be put down into the dungeon, a place without light or air, where he was detained at this time two days and two nights: But still, when released from his dismal cell, feeling the impulse of duty at times to exercise his ministry for the edification of his friends in prison,

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1690.

3d, in New-
gate, Lon-
don.

prison, to release themselves from the mortification of hearing his preaching, they released him, and sent him away, after fourteen weeks causeless imprisonment. In 1670, upon the new conventicle act coming in force, he was fined 20l. for preaching at Devonshire house, London, by Sir Samuel Starling, mayor, and about two weeks after, committed to newgate by the same magistrate for the same cause. Again being informed against for preaching at Machynlleth in Montgomeryshire, his mare, saddle and bridle, value 8l. were taken from him, and he left to travel on foot. But the informers were disappointed of the best part of their spoil, for the mare died in the possession of those who took her about an hour after.

Marries and
settles in
Dublin.

We have seen that he devoted the prime of his life to the service of his Maker, and promoting righteousness in divers parts of the earth being engaged very much in travelling in the exercise of his gift till past the state of middle age, when (in 1683) he married and settled in Dublin, in which city, as well as other parts of Ireland, by his steady, circumspect and exemplary conduct, and his powerful ministry, he was a very serviceable member of religious society, and obtained a great place in the affection and esteem of his friends and neighbours here, as he had done before in his native country.

After his settling in Dublin his travels and service were mostly confined to the different parts of Ireland, only in the year after his marriage (1684) he visited Scotland and the northern counties of England. In the year 1688 his wife died, and after her death he had an inclination to return, and spend the remainder of his days in his native

native country; but the prospect of approaching war, and its concomitant evils, which terrified numbers of the protestant inhabitants to flee to England, had the contrary effect upon him; for when the face of affairs began to look dismal and menacing, he felt no liberty to pursue his intention; but found it his place to stay and take a share in the sufferings which might be permitted to befall his friends, amongst whom he was very serviceable in strengthening and comforting them under their severe afflictions in these perilous and calamitous times. Twice, for this purpose, during the time of the war, he visited the meetings of friends in the provinces of Leinster and Munster, where he had large meetings; for in many places the teachers of other denominations had fled and left their flocks. As soon as the way was open, he paid a like visit to friends in the province of Ulster, amongst whom he had acceptable service, and was greatly comforted in finding them in a state of patient acquiescence under their sufferings.

Soon after his return from this northern journey he went to the province meeting at Rosenallis, and whether it was at this or some other in this year, that he delivered the following prophetic warning, is not clear, but it is recorded of him, that at a province meeting in 1690, he declared to his friends, "It is now a time of great trial upon you in losing all your substance; but the time will come when you will be as greatly tried with getting wealth," which was soon accomplished. From Rosenallis he proceeded to Mountrath, Ballinakill and the monthly meeting at New Garden, and from thence went home with John Watson, where he
fell

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1690.

CHAP. fell ill of a fever, which in twelve days put a pe-
 IV. riod to his life. During his illness he was pre-
 1690. served clear in his understanding, and in a fine
 frame of spirit, being born up over the fear of
 death by the testimony of a good conscience, in
 the solacing review of the integrity and virtue of
 his past life. Expressing his lively hope, "That
 "he ever loved the Lord, and the Lord loved
 "him from his youth, and that he now felt his
 "love." He was sensible to the last, and so laid
 down his head in peace with God, in love to his
 brethren and good will to all mankind, in the
 fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried at
 New Garden; his funeral was attended by many
 friends and others, upon which occasion William
 Edmundson bore a lively and affecting testimony
 in commemoration of his eminent and faithful
 services.

1691.
 An end of
 the war.

The campaign of 1691 put the finishing stroke
 to the wars and the troubles in Ireland. King
 William at the close of the last campaign re-
 turned to England, and General Ginkle being
 appointed to the command of the army, took
 Athlone, gave the Irish army a total defeat at
 Aughrim; and took the city of Limerick, which
 capitulated upon articles, whereby the war was
 brought to a termination, and the peace of the
 nation restored.

The people called Quakers, upon the restora-
 tion of peace, through the recollection of the
 precarious tenure they had of their secular pos-
 sessions, during the continuance of the war, were,
 as yet, so loosened in their attachment thereto,
 and the sympathetic benevolence of their hearts
 to each other so increased, that those, who had
 something

something left, were very ready to communicate to their indigent friends. CHAP.
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Those who had been driven from their habitations generally returned to re-possess them; and the succeeding national meeting took care that in every quarter, friends should be supplied for the present with such necessities as the time and their abilities could afford; and that in resettling, a competent number might settle near together, so as conveniently to constitute a meeting for divine worship, for their mutual edification, and the reciprocal benefit of themselves and their families. 1691.
Care of the
national
meeting for
supplying
the exigen-
cies of
friends.

And it is remarkable, that through the whole of this season of danger and tumult, they kept up their meetings for worship and discipline in their accustomed manner without much interruption or disturbance from either party; although, as before remarked, they often went to distant meetings through great perils, by reason of the rapparees, who in many places beset the roads in ambush to rob and murder the passengers on their way; but they resorting to their meetings in faith, and under persuasion of duty, were mercifully preserved, and their fidelity rewarded with inward consolation, peace of mind, and an increase of spiritual strength: And they gained ground in religious experience, in the number of their members and in the public esteem, through their innocent, steadfast and sober deportment in the fear of God. Meetings
kept up
during the
war.

C H A P. V.

A M E R I C A.

Meeting-house built in Philadelphia.—Death and Character of Robert and Jane Owen.—Ditto of John Skein.—Yearly Meeting to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia.—Care to prevent strong Liquors being sold to the Indians, and Means used for their Instruction.—Emigration from Holland and Germany.—Life and Character of Christopher Taylor.—Two Letters from William Penn to the Colony.

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1684.

Meeting-
house built
in Philadel-
phia.

IN this year friends of the quarterly meeting of Philadelphia put in execution the design, which they had a considerable time in contemplation, of building a meeting-house in the city. At a quarterly meeting held in the sixth month this year, it was concluded to have one built in the center, between the two rivers bounding the city, of brick, fifty feet by thirty-six in dimension, which being in due time completed, the meetings were held there, till the bank meeting-house was built: The next year friends of Burlington also built a large commodious meeting-house†.

The quarterly meeting of Philadelphia was now composed of the following particular meetings and bodies of friends, viz. Tacony (or Oxford)

† S. Smith.

ford) Poetquesing, the Welch friends, and those contiguous to the city on the other side of Schuylkil, with the meeting of Philadelphia, and in a few years the friends of Plymouth, Byberry, and Dublin or Abington, joined them.

C H A P.
V.

1684.

This year James Martyn from East Acton in Middlesex crossed the seas on a religious visit to the continent of America, where he spent a considerable part of two years; passing through the meetings of his friends in Pennsylvania and other parts of that continent: And being a man of worth and innocency, whose conversation adorned the gospel, which he preached faithfully, his zealous and diligent labours amongst them were edifying, serviceable and acceptable to his friends in those parts*.

In the year 1685, an honourable ancient couple of distinction amongst the Welch colonists were removed by death shortly after their arrival in America viz. Robert Owen, late of Doleyssevre near Dolgelly in Merionethshire, and Jane his wife, whose character, two of their countrymen, John Humphrey and Rowland Ellis, who knew them well, both before and after they removed to America, have left us upon record, in testimony of their worth, from whence the following abstract is drawn.

1685.

Death and
character of
Robert and
Jane Owen.

The were both well descended from families of the rank of gentry (as they are usually termed). The said Robert inherited from his father a competent estate, and received a liberal education, suitable to his rank in life. Being blessed with a good genius and quick apprehension, his proficiency in literature, and his intellectual abilities, placed

* S. Smith. J. Whiting.

CHAP. V. placed him in eminency amongst his neighbours of the same rank. After the expiration of the protectorate, he received a commission of captain of militia and governor of Beaumorris, under the committee of safety, which he held to the time of the restoration of King Charles II. and discharged his functions with fidelity. But the solidity of his understanding, illuminated by divine grace, made him clearly perceive that real and durable happiness was not founded in the estimation of men, or worldly honour or preferments, but in something more substantial; from which consideration he had long devoted the attention of his mind to religious researches, and by the sincerity of his heart and the influence of the light he was favoured with, was endued with penetration to distinguish between the precious and the vile, between pure religion and the appearance thereof; and being disposed to part with all (like the wise merchant-man in the gospel) to possess himself of the precious pearl, pure religion, and the peace of mind resulting therefrom, his researches terminated in joining in society with the people called Quakers, from which he was not deterred by the prospect of sharing with them in persecution and reproach. It appears to have been about the time of the restoration that he fully joined this body of people, although I apprehend, as far as I can gather from the above cited testimonies, that he was partly convinced before. But now the change of government, and of the national worship, introducing party altercations and struggles for power and pre-eminence, and amongst many of the ecclesiastics an offensive versatility of profession, to secure the revenues of the livings they possessed, in

Rob. Owen
a captain
and gover-
nor of Beau-
moris cat-
tle.

in some; and in the rest, on one side an avaricious engrossing of the emoluments of the church (so called) to themselves; on the other the regret at losing them, seemed to manifest more of a spirit of covetousness than of christianity prevailing amongst them in too general a way. This offensive conduct was an occasion of stumbling to many of their hearers, who were sincere in religious enquiries, and of looking forward to a people, who were more disinterested and exempt from such struggles, and was the means of encreasing the numbers of this society, by the addition of many valuable members. Amongst them, I apprehend, was Robert Owen, who upon this revolution in the state, was with many others committed to prison, not indeed as a Quaker, but for accepting a commission under the former government; and although he cleared himself of acting under the same, only in compliance with the orders of his superiors, yet the opposite party, in the exultation and intemperate warmth of party zeal, exerted themselves to effect his ruin in body and estate. Others imprisoned on the like account obtained their liberty by the act of oblivion, passed some time after, upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which our said friend at this time could not do, being in conscience persuaded of the unlawfulness of an oath; and chose rather to suffer adversity, than wound the peace of his own mind. He therefore suffered five years close imprisonment in the town of Dolgelly, about a mile from his own house, whither he was not permitted to go during that time. At last his principal prosecutor was visited with a fit of sickness, under which the remorse of his conscience was such that he could enjoy neither rest nor ease

until

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V.

1685.

He is imprisoned at the Restoration

CHAP. until he sent a special messenger to release
V. him.

1685.

His wife, Jane Owen, was also honourably descended, her father being in the office of justice of peace, and a man for integrity conspicuous above most of his rank. His said daughter was a woman whose natural good understanding was improved by a religious turn of mind; she was of a grave and solid deportment; adorned with a meek and quiet spirit; in her prosperity humble-minded; in adversity patient; a sympathizing helpmeet and encourager to her husband in all his trials; he being a repeated sufferer for his religion, by imprisonment and loss of substance. They freely opened their house for the reception of the meetings of their friends, through the hottest times of persecution, whereby they were frequently exposed to sufferings and spoil. As they had a large family, she being the mother of nine sons, her relations, persons of eminence and influence in that country, but not walking by faith, as they did, were often solicitously engaged to plead with her husband to pity his children, and save his estate; but she, on the contrary, found it her place to encourage him to fidelity to his duty, and not to violate his conscience for fear of suffering, in which, when it fell to his share, she tenderly sympathized, and with firmness and courage bore her part therein.

They were remarkable for their hospitality, their house and hearts being open to all honest friends and other sober people. Being very serviceable members of religious and civil society, they were greatly loved and respected in their native country. From whence after they had borne their share of suffering in the heat of the

the persecution, and had spent a length of years^{C H A P. V.} together in near affection, they removed in their old age to Pennsylvania in the year 1684, and there laid down the body in peace, and were buried within a few days of each other in the fifth month 1685.

About this time died John Skein, formerly of Aberdeen in Scotland, his native country, where he was marked out as a principal member of this society, by the excess of injury, depredation and persecution to which he was exposed there*. About 1678 he removed to America, and settled in West Jersey, of which (being a man of good abilities, natural and acquired) he was advanced to the station of governor, which he filled with reputation and integrity near two years. And it is a remarkable instance of the solidity of the religion of these early professors of the truth, that neither the frowns of power, nor the possession thereof, were able to shake their constancy and steadfast adherence to rectitude and religious considerations, which in their prosperity as well as adversity were the ruling principles in them, whereby they were supported to bear sufferings with patience and fortitude, and prosperous circumstances with humility and fear.

By these principles John Skein, in the enjoyment of power, was instructed to use it for the service of the people, over whom he was placed in government, not in mere profession (as too customary) but in truth and reality, as a religious duty. And while he was employing his talents in the service of government, and discharging his trust with fidelity in his station, as a member

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of

* See vol. iii. p. 464, 468.

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1685.

of civil society, he did not look upon it as beneath him, but esteemed it his indispensable duty, to fill up his place also in religious society among friends, both by his exemplary conduct, and his edifying ministry.

Yearly meeting established; to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia.

Their concern to prevent any under their name to sell rum to the Indians.

The general yearly meeting which for the past four years successively had been held at Burlington; at a meeting in 1683, had been agreed upon to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia*. In consequence of this agreement, the first yearly meeting in the latter place began on the fifteenth of the seventh month this year. Many friends from East and West Jersey expressed their unity and satisfaction in the present establishment of one yearly meeting for the three provinces. Amongst other subjects of deliberation, the concerting of some additional measures for preventing all persons, who went under the name of Quakers, from being in any manner concerned in selling Rum to the Indians, particularly engaged their attention. This subject attracted the very early and earnest care of the first settlers of this society in both provinces, from the clear sense they had of the † iniquity and bad consequence of this traffic.

Instead

* This yearly meeting was first intended to consist of friends northward, as far as New England, and southward as far as Carolina: Maryland sent representatives for some time. But the distance of their habitations rendering it inconvenient for friends of the remoter colonies to give their attendance, the yearly meeting was constituted of the friends of New Jersey and Pennsylvania only, and so continued several years; but now a considerable number of friends residing in the western parts of Virginia and Maryland belong to this yearly meeting, which since the year 1760 hath been held annually at Philadelphia.

† The bad consequence and iniquity of this traffick, is clearly

Instead of endeavours to take advantage of the weakness of the natives by making ungodly gain in a commerce so injurious to their temper and their morals; these friends and their European brethren who visited them, exerted their endeavours to cultivate amity and a friendly correspondence with the native Indians, in order by kind treatment, fair dealing, and good conduct, to gain their esteem and good opinion, thereby to open themselves a way to be more essentially serviceable to them, in bringing them

U 2

to

ly set forth in a pamphlet published in Philadelphia, entitled *Some Observations on the Indian Natives of this Continent.*

Much of their blamable conduct, now complained of, is certainly imputable to a long continued train of fraudulent and corrupt practices in our intercourse with them, especially the fatal introduction of strong drink, of which they have often complained*, and desired it might not be brought amongst them, by which instead of allaying the ferment of corrupt nature, by a good example, and the good instruction, which our superior knowledge would enable us to give them, too many have been instrumental in working them up to a state of distraction, which when it has burst forth in vengeance upon ourselves, is made a pretence for destroying them, as though they were wholly the aggressors.

That Indians may be tempted or provoked to the perpetration of great evils, by the intemperate love and use of strong liquors, is easily conceived; but whether they, who, to gratify the cravings of sordid avarice, furnish them with the intoxicating potion, and then take advantage of their situation, to impose upon them, and tempt them to evil, are not principally accountable, for the crimes they commit, and their consequences, is a query worthy of their most serious consideration.

* At the treaty at Carlisle, in 1753 the Indians say, " The Ruin ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities. We desire it may be forbidden, and not sold in the Indian country; but that if the Indians will have any, they may go amongst the inhabitants, and deal with them. When these Whiskey traders come, they bring 30 or 40 Kegs,

C H A P.
V.
1685.

C H A P.
VI.

1685.

The exertions of friends to cultivate friendship with the Indians, and to gain them to christianity.

to an acquaintance with the principles of christianity. For this purpose religious-minded friends would frequently enter into conversation with them, visit them in their villages, and hold religious meetings amongst them; their discourses being explained by an interpreter to such of them as did not understand English. John Hayton and James Martin from Europe, who came early on a religious visit to friends in these provinces; William Penn, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, and others of the new settlers, had meetings amongst them, as well as many since from time to time, wherein they used endeavours to inculcate the benefit of a christian life. And in this year a committee of friends was appointed by the quar-

“Kegs. and put them before us, and make us drink, and get all the skins that should go to pay the debts we have contracted for goods bought of the fair trader; and by this means, we not only ruin ourselves, but them too.

“The wicked Whiskey sellers, when they have once got the Indians in liquor, made them sell their very clothes from their backs. In short, if this practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore, beseech you to remedy it.”

We find an early record, in the history of New Jersey, to the credit of the people of that day. That at a conference they held with the Indians, where 8 Kings or Chiefs were present, the speaker expressed himself to the following effect.

“Strong liquors were sold to us by the Swedes and by the Dutch; these people had no eyes they did not see it was hurtful to us; that it made us mad. We know it is hurtful to us. Nevertheless, if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear; but now there is a people come to live amongst us, that have eyes; they see it to be for our hurt; they are willing to deny themselves the profit, for our good. These people have eyes, we are glad such a people are come, we must put it down by mutual consent. We give these four belts of wampum ——— to be a witness of this agreement we make with you; and would have you tell it to your children.”

quarterly meeting of Burlington, to pay the ^{C H A P.} neighbouring Indians a religious visit, and hold ^{V.} a meeting among them, to which many of the ^{1685.} Indians gathered, and quietly attended to what was delivered. At this and many other meetings of this kind they seemed to be affected, and particular persons amongst them would profess some conviction and reformation for a season; and in a general way they would be serious on these occasions, and confess to the truth and goodness of what they heard and understood; but the thorough mortification of their passions and natural appetites, which is the essence of christianity, seemed a discipline too severe for them, habituated to little restraint, to submit to. Yet the religious conversation and virtuous examples of these first settlers in these provinces, and their free and friendly correspondence and intercourse with them, were conducive to bring the bordering Indians to a degree of civilization and good neighbourhood unknown to those of the remoter tribes.

About the year 1686 many friends and others ^{1686.} from Holland and Germany arrived in Pensyl- ^{Emigration} vania, who, fixing their residence among their ^{from Hol-} friends, contributed to the extension of the town ^{land and} called Germantown, situated six miles north of ^{Germany.} Philadelphia, which had been begun in 1682. Several of them, I apprehend, emigrated from the Palatinate, in which province many of the inhabitants had adopted the name and profession of Quakers, whereby they escaped sharing in the succeeding calamities of their country in the year 1689, when Louis the Fourteenth, in the cruel wantonness of power, caused the fine towns

C H A P. towns in that principality to be destroyed by
V. fire.

1686. In this year Christopher Taylor of Pennsylvania
Life and departed this life. He was brother to Thomas
character of C. Taylor Taylor, of whom an account hath been given
before in 1681. He is supposed to have been
born near Skipton in Yorkshire, and as well
as his brother received a learned education, to
qualify him for the office of the ministry : And
he officiated as preacher among the puritans 'till
he was convinced about the same time with his
brother by the ministry of George Fox in 1652,
and after some time he became an approved mi-
nister amongst the people called Quakers, and
travelled in many parts of the nation to propa-
gate religion and righteousness, but was impris-
oned at Appleby in Westmoreland in 1654, by
warrant from Thomas Burton, a justice, for
speaking, what he esteemed his duty, to a priest
in the steeple-house yard, where he remained
under severe sufferings and inhuman usage about
two years. During his imprisonment he wrote
a warning to the rulers in England, especially
to the persecuting rulers, priests and people in
the country of Westmoreland, and some other
pieces. After his release from this imprison-
ment, I have no certain account of his future
travels. At some distance of time I find he kept
a boarding-school of repute at Waltham Abbey
in Essex, for children of both sexes, during
which time he employed his leisure hours in ex-
ercising his pen in the service of truth. From
Waltham he removed about 1679 to Edmonton
in Middlesex, and continued his school there.
In the discharge of his duty he was remarkably
zealous and diligent, not only in instructing the
children

children under his care in literature, but in successful endeavours to instil into their tender minds early impressions of religion, virtue, and the fear of their maker. In these laudable endeavours he was effectually seconded by the joined exertions of his wife, a faithful woman and a minister, and of his principal assistant, John Matern, a German by birth, who had received a learned education in his native country, being also designed for the sacerdotal office; but being convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers about 1674 there, he removed to reside amongst his friends in England, and engaged with Christopher Taylor as assistant in his school, for which station he was well qualified, not only as a man of literature, but in the more valuable qualification of the truly religious and faithful man. The conjoined labours of these worthy men had a remarkable effect on the minds and manners of the children under their tuition, of which they published an account this year, under the title of *A Testimony to the Lord's Power and blessed Appearance in and amongst the Children*. John Matern did not long continue, but finished his course in this life at Edmonton the 1st of the 7^{mo}, 1680, under the consolation of a good conscience, and a well-grounded hope of entering into eternal rest. His concern for the lasting good of the children under his care only left him with his parting breath; for about four hours before his departure he desired them to be called up into his bed-chamber, and there he prayed for them, and gave them his final exhortation, *to be faithful to the little they knew of the fear and will of their maker*, and that greater degrees would be added.

C H A P.
V.

1686.

John Matern, his principal assistant.

C H A P. added. After his death Christopher Taylor con-
 V. tinued his school at Edmonton between two and
 1686. three years, during which time he wrote a cau-
 tionary epistle to friends in relation to William
 Rogers's writings, and an answer to two of
 his libels. About the year 1682, resigning his
 school to George Keith, he removed with his
 wife to Pennsylvania, where she died in the year
 1685, and himself the next year. And although
 the residence of this valuable man was of no
 long duration in this colony, he lived long
 enough to impress his friends there with a lively
 sense of his worth, and of their loss in his so
 speedy removal, as appears by their testimony,
 that he was a diligent and faithful minister
 among them; in the exercise of his gift, perti-
 nent, clear and affecting; in prayer, solemn,
 reverent and weighty; in his general deport-
 ment, circumspect, meek and humble. He
 was also, in a civil capacity, a very respectable
 and serviceable member of the colony of Pen-
 sylvania; and for his services the few years he
 lived there, seems to have been regarded by
 them as one of the best men of the age in which
 he lived.

William Penn, at different times in the year
 1689, sent the following letters to his friends in
 Pennsylvania:

“ My dear Friends and Brethren,

W. Penn's
 letters to
 friends in
 Pennsylv-
 ania.

“ If it be with you, as I can say it is with
 “ me in the presence of God, then are we one
 “ in him; for neither length of days, nor dis-
 “ tance of place, nor all the many waters be-
 “ tween us, can separate my heart and affec-
 “ tions

" tions from you; but my love, yea the love ^{CHAP. V.}
 " of God my father, and your father, abounds }
 " toward you, with endeared salutations to you 1689.
 " all; and for you, and the blessing of you
 " and yours, with grace, peace and prosperity,
 " are my knees bowed to the God of all our mer-
 " cies and preservations; that a holy, blameless
 " people, without guile and wrath, brawling
 " and selfishness, you may be made and kept in
 " all things. That God may spread his great
 " name over you, and make a wall of defence
 " about you, and create a glory upon the same,
 " to your unspeakable joy, and the renown of
 " his own great power; for this mine eyes have
 " beheld under the sun, that all is vanity in
 " comparison of him, and that happy and
 " blessed is that people whose God is the Lord.
 " For the nation or province upon the earth
 " that will not reverence him, and call in righ-
 " teousness upon him, and in all their under-
 " takings have his glory first in their eyes, shall
 " be cut off. He will vex, visit and trouble
 " that people, that they may know that he
 " ruleth in the kingdoms of men. Therefore
 " the Lord guide you by his own spirit, and
 " preserve you a lively, green and savoury peo-
 " ple to his praise. Amen.

" Great revolutions have been of late in this
 " land of your nativity, and where they may
 " period the Lord knows; it can be no new
 " thing for us to meet with exercises. Europe
 " looks like a sea of trouble; wars all over it,
 " like to be this summer; I strongly desire to
 " see you before it be spent, if the Lord will;
 " and I can say in his sight, that to improve my
 " interest with King James for tender con-
 " sciences,

C H A P. V. "sciences, and that a christian liberty might be
 1689. "legally settled, though against my own interest, was that which has separated me from
 "you chiefly.

"I desire your remembrance before the Lord,
 "as you are not nor cannot be forgotten in my
 "addresses and approaches to him, who rest
 "in his unchangeable love, Dear friends and
 "brethren, your's unalterably in the communion of the precious truth.

"2d 1^{mo}, 1689.

WM. PENN."

"My love to friends in Jersey, &c. Let this
 "be read among friends."

"Hammermith, 30th 10^{mo}, 1689.

"Dear Friends,

"I cannot slip this opportunity, but send you
 "the endeared salutations of my love, that in
 "the truth gives me frequent occasions to remember you, and earnestly desire your preservation to God, as well as your comfort and prosperity about outward things, about which have a care that they grow not too fast upon you, nor too many for you, I mean as to the cares and concerns that attend them in the exercise of your spirits; for it is a blessed state to enjoy and use the world in the dominion of his life and power, that has quickened by his light and spirit a people to himself; for in this stands all our peace and blessedness, that God be eyed in the first
 "place,

“ place, that we set him on our right hand, C H A P.
 “ that we set him continually before our eyes, V.
 “ and that our eye be directed towards him in 1689.
 “ all things, as the eye of the handmaid to her
 “ mistress, that we may be able to say in truth
 “ and righteousness, *We have none in Heaven but*
 “ *him, nor any on earth besides him.* This it is
 “ that keeps God’s people every where, for
 “ hereby they put on Christ in all his blessed
 “ teachings and leadings, and make no provi-
 “ sion for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.
 “ Friends they are deep words, and deeper
 “ things; I know you understand me, and I
 “ hope you feel me; who have your eyes to the
 “ mark, and look to the joy before you, that is
 “ above all joys in this momentary, trouble-
 “ some, busy world. And now, friends, I
 “ have a word more to you, and that is this,
 “ that faith, hope and charity are the great
 “ helps and marks of true christians, but above
 “ all, charity is the love of God, or divine
 “ love. Blessed are they that come to it, and
 “ hold the truth in it, and work and act in it,
 “ for they are poor indeed in spirit of their
 “ own, but rich in God’s; they are meek, they
 “ inherit; all other states are a brangle in
 “ comparison, but this enjoys, this possesses,
 “ this reigns. O come into this love, more
 “ and more, for to this shall all gifts and ope-
 “ rations give place, and they do so in the
 “ hearts of those that are come to know charity
 “ greatest in them. It will preserve peace in
 “ the church, peace in the state, peace in fami-
 “ lies, aye and peace in particular bosoms.
 “ God Almighty draw, I beseech him, all your
 “ hearts into this heavenly love more and more,
 “ that

CHAP. " that the work of it may shine out to God's
 V. " glory and your comfort.

1689.

" For matters here, as to myself, I am well
 " and free, and for the church of God, liberty
 " continues; but in the nations of Europe,
 " great wars, and rumours of wars, such as
 " have not been almost from the beginning;
 " suns are turned into darkness, and moons
 " into blood, for the notable day is at the door.
 " It would not be borne from some of you
 " when you went for America, that such a day
 " would come, but come and coming it is, for
 " almost every eye sees it, and tongue says it,
 " and some thousands, alas! have already felt
 " it. Sanctify, therefore, the Lord in your
 " hearts; be satisfied in him and in your lot,
 " and walk worthily of his daily mercy, and
 " attendance upon you, and care over you;
 " and the Lord keep you to the end. I am, in
 " the truth that makes us near to God, and one
 " to another,

" Your faithful friend and brother,

" W. PENN."

C H A P. VI.

George Keith removes to Pennsylvania.—Is appointed Master of a free School established there, which he soon quits.—Account of George Keith before his removal to America.—Further Remarks concerning him.—He lets in an aspiring Mind.—Friends concerned to caution him.—He discovers an open Dissent.—Begins to quarrel, first with Thomas Fitzwalter and William Stockdale.—Complains against them to the Monthly Meeting.—Friends in England, hearing of the Difference, write a Letter of Advice.—Their Counsel slighted by George Keith.—He treats Thomas Lloyd and other Magistrates with illiberal Language.—He reflects upon the Meeting of Ministers.—Testimony of the Monthly Meeting against him.—Presented by the Grand Jury and fined.—Magistrates' Vindication.—Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson arrive in Pennsylvania.—Extract from Thomas Wilson's Journal.—George Keith's Departure for England.

GEORGE KEITH, to whom Christopher Taylor aforesaid had resigned his school at Edmonton, did not keep it up long, but had also in the intermediate time removed to Pennsylvania. * And about this time friends of Philadelphia, considering the advantages of a good education, had

C H A P.
VI.

1689.

G. Keith
removes to
Pennsylvania.

C H A P. VI. had it in contemplation to establish a free-school in Philadelphia; and looking upon George Keith, now a resident there, as a person well qualified to conduct such an undertaking, they pitched upon him for master of this school, and engaged him on the following terms: That he should have salary of 50*l.* for the first year, a house for himself and family, and a school-house provided, and the profits of the school beside; for two years more his school was to be made worth 120*l.* per annum if he should chuse to stay so long; in consideration of which advantages he was to teach the poor children gratis. He continued in this station only about a year, and was succeeded by his usher, whose name was Thomas Makin.

which he
quits.

George Keith's conduct seems, at this time, to betray symptoms of a very untable and wavering temper of mind; he soon grew weary of every circumstance of life, especially such as was attended with labour and confinement. Christopher Taylor, we see, resigned into his hands a well-established and profitable school, which after no long time he quitted; removed first to London, and soon after to America. Here the strenuous exertions of his friends to make a handsome provision for him as their school-master in the infant state of their colony, evince the cordiality of their regard, and generosity of their disposition toward him, and that they were desirous to make his residence amongst them easy and comfortable to the utmost of their power. Under these circumstances, one might imagine, he might have enjoyed ease and satisfaction to his full content, if free from uneasiness in his own mind; but he who carries the
source

source of unhappiness within himself, is not like ^{C H A P. VI.} to find happiness in any circumstance of life. 1689.
 He seems to have given a loose rein to an unsettled and dissatisfied temper, which occasioned himself much hurt and friends much trouble, first in America, and afterwards in England. In order to convey a more satisfactory intelligence of the misunderstandings and separation which soon broke out between him and friends in America, it may not be impertinent to recapitulate the successive passages of his life previous thereto, as far as my materials enable me.

George Keith was a native of Scotland, where ^{G. Keith's education.} he received a liberal education in the national profession or kirk of Scotland, not only at school, but also at the university of Aberdeen. By whom he was convinced, or by what means he joined in society with the people called Quakers, I am not informed, but I find that in the year 1664, he came as a minister 1664. from the south of Scotland on a religious visit ^{Travels in the work of the ministry} to his friends at Aberdeen, and was detained in prison there ten months, and Patrick Livingstone ^{try} with him seven months, where they were violently beaten and abused by one Peter Strachan, son to Andrew Strachan, priest in Kintore, who was confined in the same prison; for which he fell under great trouble of mind, under the sense of his wicked and abusive behaviour to them, fearfully crying out that the judgments of God were upon him, and repeatedly begging their forgiveness before many witnesses &c.

In

C H A P.
VI.

1689.

His suffer-
ings.

In the next year, being under a religious concern to bear his testimony to the truth in the great steeple-house at Aberdeen, in attempting that service he was violently assaulted, and knocked down to the ground by James Horne, the bell-ringer. Shortly after which it was remarked that the said Horne going up the steeple to ring the bell, suddenly fell through a hole above four stories high, and was instantly killed by the fall, upon the same spot of the pavement where he had beaten George Keith. We find him afterwards amongst the number of this persecuted people at Aberdeen, involved in confiscations and long imprisonment.

He vindicates the doctrine of the Quakers on several occasions.

He was not only a sufferer in common with his brethren in testimony to the truth of his profession; but exerted his talents in defence thereof both in verbal disputations, and in print on many occasions. He first joined Alexander Jaffray in confuting a virulent invective of George Meldrum in his sermon against the Quakers in 1666. He was coadjutor to Robert Barclay in the dispute he had with the students of Aberdeen in defence of his Theses in 1675. He was likewise engaged, together with Stephen Crisp George Whitehead and William Penn, in a dispute with the baptists in London the preceding year. He also wrote and published several treatises in vindication and explanation of the principles of the people called Quakers, viz. One upon *immediate revelation*; another under the title of *the universal free grace of the gospel asserted. The way to the city of God. The benefit, glory and advantage of silent meetings, &c.*

Imprisoned
for teaching
school

In 1682 he was informed against for preaching, and teaching school at Edmonton without licence,

at

the quarter sessions for Hertfordshire, upon which^{C H A P.}
the justices tendered him the oath, and upon his^{VI.}
refusal to take it committed him to jail. In the
year 1684 he was again imprisoned in newgate,
London, for refusing to swear, and continued a
prisoner above five months. 1689.

Thus for the greatest part of thirty years had he retained full unity with the society, and not the lowest degree of estimation for his service amongst them, during which time he never pretended to discover any errors or false doctrines maintained by them, though he had the fullest opportunity; but on the contrary publicly vindicated them. Yet not duly attending to the apostle's caution to the Colossians, *beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the traditions of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ*, affecting to be wise beyond what is written or revealed, he became wavering in mind, and was shaken from his steadfastness in the faith. Having indulged himself too much in curious, uncertain and unprofitable speculation, that inward watchfulness which is necessary to keep the heart clean and pure, the passions in subjection, and the life and manners upright and pacific, was suspended. He is said to have imbibed some fanciful notions of Van Helmont about the year 1682, concerning *the transmigration of souls, the resurrection, &c.*, which the people called Quakers have never thought it necessary to be curiously inquisitive about, as not believing, subjects above the investigation of human reason and knowledge, to be necessary to salvation, further than they are clearly revealed in the scripture: And looking upon the things which are clearly revealed, to be

C H A P. long to us, and to be sufficient for salvation,
 VI. have avoided to pry into the secret things which
 1689. belong to divine omniscience. * Finding no
 room for the propagation of such notions amongst
 them, he is supposed to have let in some secret
 jealousy and contempt, which afterwards broke
 out in open opposition and contention; first with
 individuals, and afterwards with the body at
 large.

The first symptom of loss of spiritual strength
 was discovered in his impatience under suffering.

† After he had taken up Christopher Taylor's
 school at Edmonton, and was imprisoned at
 Hertford, he removed to London, and sought a
 privileged place to reside in: but finding this
 not sufficient to protect him, being taken and
 imprisoned in Newgate as above, seeing himself
 so closely pursued and molested in his lawful oc-
 cupation by the spirit of persecution, as yet re-
 taining power to be vexatious to the non-con-
 forming subjects; and his steadfastness of faith
 in divine protection being weakened by airy spe-
 culation, and reasoning with flesh and blood; he
 complained now, that as nothing but persecution
 was to be met with here, he would seek an asy-
 lum in a land of liberty; under which disposition
 he removed to America.

The apostle hath left this cautionary reflection
 on record as a warning to christians of all deno-
 minations and generations, "*Knowledge puffeth*
up; but charity edifieth." And in this man
 we have an instance, that as we suffer ourselves
 to

to be puffed up with our knowledge, we are in ^{C H A P. VI.} danger of losing that charity, which excelleth all gifts and attainments. George Keith was a man ^{1689.} of good natural abilities, improved by a liberal education, clear in comprehension and fluent in expression, which gave him in these respects a superiority over many, or the greater part of his brethren, and would have been the means of continuing his estimation as an useful member, if he had not been himself too conscious of this superiority, and thereby let in an aspiring mind, ^{He lets in an aspiring mind.} aiming at pre-eminence amongst them, which when he could not attain, he transgressed the bounds not only of christian charity, but of common decency.

It is remarkable that it was soon after the removal of George Fox, that symptoms of self-importance began to discover themselves in George Keith's conduct, which suggests a conjecture, that he might not be without a secret apprehension of his own fitness to succeed to that esteem and influence in the society, at least in America, which George Fox had held, not of his own seeking, nor for himself, but from the conviction of his friends, of the many excellent virtues he was endowed with, and the spiritual advantages they had received from his faithful example and pastoral care, they regarded him as the principal of their elder brethren, worthy of double honour; and the influence he thereby acquired, he steadily directed to the honour of God, and their edification and establishment in pure religion to the last. ^{1691.}

Several friends had been concerned to caution George Keith in great christian tenderness, of the dangerous consequences of busying himself in ^{Several friends concerned to caution him.} useless

C H A P. VI. *useless speculations, and questions of words which
gender to strife,* previous to his removal to Ame-

1691. *rica, as I apprehend; where, when he arrived, keeping his latent notions to himself, or partly disclosing them only to such as he could venture to intrust therewith as a secret, he continued openly to profess and vindicate the doctrines of the people called Quakers in sundry notable*

He continues to vindicate the doctrines of the people called Quakers. *tracts, as, the presbyterian and independent visible churches in New England and elsewhere, brought to the test and examined; a refutation of three opposers of truth; the pretended antidote proved poison, or the true principles of the christian and protestant religion defended against Cotton Mather and others; and a serious appeal to all the more sober, impartial and judicious people in New Eng-*

1692. *land, in vindication of friends.* Yet in the same year that he published this last treatise, his secret disgust at his friends, broke out into open dissent and contention, chiefly, as appears, because he could not obtain that pre-eminence he aspired after, nor carry things in all cases according to his own prescriptions, or dictates: for instead thereof, several of his friends, less versed in speculative points, but better established in practical religion, fearing his falling into danger and error through unwatchfulness, were not wanting in brotherly affection gently to communicate their apprehensions; but he, who, in the present exaltedness of his mind, looked upon himself as their superior in wisdom and knowledge, and now began to regard his friends with an eye of contempt, seems to have thought it beneath him to regard the advice of those, whom he imagined himself better qualified to instruct;

Yet in the same year discovers an open dissent.

and

and to have formed a design to govern, or to divide. C H A P.
VI.

He began with objecting to the manner in which the discipline of the society was conducted, complaining there was too great a slackness in the application thereof, and proposed new regulations for the amendment of the deficiencies, which having drawn up in writing, he presented to the meeting of ministers at the yearly meeting; but as they did not fully approve thereof they proposed to refer the matter to the consideration of the yearly meeting of London, which he declined, signifying, *he would rather let it drop*. Notwithstanding this, he conceived aggravated disgust at the disappointment, to such a degree, that from this time the secret envy and dislike, which had been rankling in his breast, began to break out in captious remarks, and bitter sarcasms upon the general conduct of friends, their manner of preaching, and such like matters; not that they were more liable to objection at that time, nor in that place, than, I imagine, they had been all along from the time of his first entering into their community; for I cannot discover, that any remarkable change appeared in the body of friends, either in Europe or America, in their principles, their manners, or their manner of preaching, which were much the same as at their first rise, and as they were all the time while George Keith continued in close fellowship with them; but it appears too evident that he was now become a man given to change in all these respects.

Passion and prejudice corrupt the heart, and give it a perverse bias. George Keith, now inviscerally watching for occasion against friends, 1692.
He objects against their manner of conducting discipline.

Begins to quarrel first with Thomas Fitzwalter and took William Stockdale.

C H A P. VI. took exceptions at some words uttered by Thomas Fitzwalter and William Stockdale in their public testimonies, first began to quarrel with them, and charged them with preaching false doctrine, in setting forth *the light of Christ to be sufficient for salvation*, and declared to Thomas Fitzwalter, that he himself did not believe, *the light was sufficient without something else*. Which expression Thomas reported to some other person, for which George brought a complaint against him to the monthly meeting. This appears to me a very frivolous cause of complaint to bring before any body of men in a judicial capacity, and carries the appearance of a spirit lusting to contention, and a mean duplicity in George Keith; for that he so expressed himself was proved by the evidence of several witnesses, who were present, and yet he denied it to the meeting. The meeting entering into the examination of his complaint, in order to take away all occasion of cavilling from him, who was now studiously seeking it, as Thomas had reported nothing but matter of fact, and had the evidence of many witnesses, they saw no cause to charge him with asserting an untruth; but his manner of procedure in George Keith's absence, and without first endeavouring a reconciliation between themselves, they judged a wrong proceeding, as being a breach of gospel order. Thomas very readily acknowledged, that though the charge itself was true, the mentioning it, in the manner he had done, was wrong.

Complains of Thomas to the monthly meeting.

He next complains against W. Stockdale.

He next complained to the meeting of ministers against William Stockdale, for having said, that his preaching *Christ without and Christ within* was preaching *two Christs*. William Stockdale denied.

denied his uttering the expressions in the terms complained of; and on the other hand alledged against Keith, that he had treated him in a very contemptuous and abusive manner, calling him an *ignorant heathen*, and several other opprobrious appellations. The meeting delivered their opinion, that Stockdale was culpable, and deserving reproof, for uttering the words he did, they being an offence to sundry sound and well-minded friends, and that he should condemn the same. And as to George Keith's manner of proceeding against him, they could not admit it to be agreeable to gospel order, he not having dealt with him alone in a private manner, before he proceeded further in his complaint; neither could they hold him excusable for his indecent expressions to William Stockdale, he being older in experience and in years.

By this time friends in England got intelligence of these differences, whereupon several of them in London wrote an epistle to their brethren in Pennsylvania, earnestly pressing them to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, and guard against disputations upon subjects not tending to edification, whereby that charity and brotherly kindness, which had hitherto connected them in gospel-fellowship, might be in danger of being weakened or dissolved. That obedience to the precepts of the gospel was a better proof of our honouring Christ, as a teacher come from God, than airy speculations and controversies leading to contention about his glorified body in heaven; wishing them rather, after the custom of friends from the beginning, to be emulous in the practice of all christian virtues, and to shew forth the fruits of the spirit out of a good conversation,

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Friends in
England
hearing of
these differ-
ences write
their advice
thereupon.

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versation, than to be over curious in questions of
 words ministring to strife and contention; re-
 minding them of the ancient and constant prin-
 ciple and experience of friends, that the dispen-
 sation of the gospel " committed to them, was
 " a spiritual dispensation; in nowise to oppose,
 " reject or invalidate Jesus Christ's outward
 " coming, suffering, death, resurrection, ascen-
 " sion and glorified estate in the heavens; but
 " to bring men to partake of the remission
 " of sins, reconciliation and eternal redemp-
 " tion, which he hath obtained for us, and for
 " all men, for whom he died, and gave himself
 " a ransom, both for Jews and Gentiles, Indians,
 " Turks and Pagans, without respect of persons
 " or people. And Christ is fully to be preached
 " unto them, according to the holy scriptures,
 " by them whom he may send unto them for
 " that end; that as the benefit of his suf-
 " ferings extends to all, even to them that have
 " not the scriptures, or outward history thereof,
 " they may be told, who was and is their chief
 " friend, that gave himself a ransom for them,
 " and hath enlightened them; yet not excluded
 " those from God's mercy, or salvation by Christ,
 " *who never had nor may have* the outward know-
 " ledge or history of him, if they sincerely obey,
 " and live up to his light; for his light and sal-
 " vation reach to the ends of the earth; yet still
 " we that have the holy scriptures, and those
 " plain outward confirmed testimonies concern-
 " ing our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,
 " both as to his coming in the flesh and in the
 " spirit, have cause to be thankful to God for
 " the peculiar favour, and that these scriptures
 " are so well preserved to posterity; and we be-
 " seech

“*teech you, let us keep to the plainness and simplicity of scripture language in all discourses about matters of faith, divinity and doctrine; and sincerely believe, own and confess our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, in all his comings, appearances, properties, offices and works, both for us and in us.*”

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This epistle, which is very long, concludes with the excellent counsel of the apostle, “If there be therefore any consolation in Christ; if any comfort of love; if any fellowship of the spirit; if any bowels and mercies, fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having the same love, being of one accord and one mind; let nothing be done through strife or vain glory, but in lowliness of mind, let every man esteem others better than himself.”

“Signed by

“George Whitehead,	“Samuel Waldenfield,
“John Field,	“Benjamin Antrobus,
“William Bingley,	“John Vaughton,
“Alexander Seaton,	“Daniel Monro,
“Patrick Livingston.”	

The brotherly counsel and concern of friends in England, although marked throughout with clear reasoning, and christian tenderness and moderation, and earnest zeal to heal the breach, or prevent the widening thereof, had no better effect than the honest endeavours of friends in America had before. Ambition and bitterness of spirit had so thoroughly possessed George Keith, that their suggestions had greater power

Their counsel
sighed
by George
Keith.

OVER

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over him than the best admonitions, Being baffled in his principal aim, that of taking the lead in the society, he set no bounds to his malicious invectives, suffering his passion to hurry him on to vent his resentment in illiberal reproaches, in violation of decency and common sense.

At another meeting with him he openly avowed the doctrines, which before he had endeavoured to conceal, (by denying his having said what was proved he did say, as in the case of Thomas Fitzwalter,) and roundly charged several friends with unsoundness of faith. (Thomas Lloyd told him, in behalf of himself and others, whom he had accused, that they believed all things written in the scriptures concerning our Saviour's birth, death and resurrection, &c. in the outward; to which he smartly replied, but is it absolutely and indispensably necessary to all and every one of mankind to believe it? adding, that unless he did so believe, he would not own him as a christian; but said, he might be a devout heathen.

Thomas Lloyd was appointed by William Penn to the station of deputy governor of Pennsylvania during his absence, and filled the station with integrity and repute. His consequence, of course, must be considerable both in religious and civil society. His particular patronage of George Keith, and unremitted endeavours to serve him, previous to his violating of the unity of society, deserved his grateful respect; yet because he gave him no countenance, but joined his weight and influence against his intemperate conduct in his opposition, Keith could not bridle his temper or his

He treats
Thomas
Lloyd and
other magistrates
with illiberal language.

his tongue within the bounds of common decency, even to him, but at a succeeding meeting, gave the loose rein to his petulancy so far as to call him *impudent man, and pitiful governor*; asking him why he did not send him to jail; telling him his back had long itched for a whipping; menacing him and his friends, that he would expose them in print all over America, if not over Europe. One of the magistrates, remarkable for his moderation and pacific disposition, he called *an impudent rascal*.

This conduct betrayed the passion and malignity of a violent party spirit, and could mean nothing but an essay, whether he could provoke them to some act of authority as magistrates, whereby he might take an occasion to raise a cry of persecution against them: and men of less temper, and less regard to religion, might very probably, in the like circumstances, have complied with his desire, and cured his itch, and have vindicated themselves also against the charge of persecution, by alledging that reviling is not religion, nor reproachful appellations a conscientious scruple: But the men with whom he had to deal, were of a very different cast, being of those who were restrained by their religious principles, conformable to primitive christianity, from returning railing for railing; being defamed they intreated; they bore his reproaches with patience, exerted their endeavours to pacify him, and recover him to a better mind, and to prevent an open breach, in a spirit of meekness; but all their endeavours were in vain.

At length, after many vilifying expressions to particular persons, as occasion raised his wrath, he went so far as to bring a most reproachful charge

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He reflects
upon the
meeting of
ministers.

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1692. charge against a reputable part of the body at large, charging a meeting of ministers with coming together *to cloak heresies and deceit, and that there were more damnable heresies and doctrines of devils among the Quakers than among any profession of protestants.*

This reflection, which is mere assertion without shadow of proof, evidences the bitterness of his spirit, urging him to expressions pointed in malice, to provoke, without regard to candour or to truth: Against the validity whereof, and in defence of the people called Quakers, we can perhaps bring no authority more apposite to the point than his own, in his serious appeal printed in Philadelphia in this very same year 1692, wherein he fully condemned in others those measures, he was now so fondly pursuing.

Serious appeal, page 6.—“Notwithstanding
“Cotton Mather’s strong asseverations against
“us, as if we denied all or most of the fundamental articles of the christian and protestant faith, yet he shall never be able to prove
“it, that we are guilty of this his so extremely
“rash and uncharitable charge, either as in respect of the body of that people, or in respect
“of any particular writers or publishers of our
“doctrines and principles, and preachers among
“us, generally owned and approved by us, as
“men of a sound judgment and understanding.
“And for his citations out of the Quakers’
“printed books and treatises, I would have you
“to consider, that most of them are all borrowed and taken, not from our own books,
“but from our professed adversaries, men known
“well enough to be possessed with prejudice
“against us; such as Thomas Hicks and John
“Faldo

“ Faldo and others, whom our friends in Old^{C H A P.}
 “ England, and particularly George Whitehead^{VI.}
 “ and William Penn, have largely answered.” 1692.

Hitherto friends had treated with him in a private way with much meekness and patience; but it was properly judged that this public insult demanded public reparation, which he contemptuously refusing to make, the monthly meeting of Philadelphia proceeded to disown him, and as a testimony they published on this occasion exhibits a plain narration of the case and the reasons of their procedure, and his offensive conduct, it justly claims a place in this work.

“ To the several monthly and quarterly meetings
 “ in Pennsylvania, East and West Jersey, and
 “ elsewhere, as there may be occasion.

“ Beloved Friends,

“ In tender love, and with spirits bowed down
 “ before the Lord, is this our salutation unto
 “ you; earnestly desiring your growth, and
 “ daily preservation in the ancient truth, and in
 “ the simplicity of the gospel of our Lord Jesus
 “ Christ, and our hope and breathings are that
 “ no insinuations or wiles of the enemy shall pre-
 “ vail to turn you aside from your steadfastness,
 “ or to cause you to esteem lightly of the rock,
 “ and way of God’s salvation unto you; but
 “ that you be kept in the light and life, which
 “ was and is the just man’s path, to the end of
 “ our days. Amen!

“ Now dear friends it is with sorrow of spi-
 “ rits, and grief of souls, that we signify unto
 “ you the tedious exercise, and vexatious per-
 “ plexity,

C H A P. VI. ^{1692.} “plexity, we have met with in our late friend
 “George Keith, for several months past: So it
 “hath happened, friends, lest any flesh should
 “glory, but become silent before the Lord, that
 “*this once eminent man and instrument of renow*
 “in the hand of the Lord, whilst he kept his
 “first habitation, and knew the government of
 “truth over his own spirit, and witnessed the
 “same to be a bridle to his tongue, was then
 “serviceable both in pen and speech, to the
 “churches of Christ: But now and of late it is
 “too obvious and apparent, that being degene-
 “rated from the low, meek and peaceable spi-
 “rit of Christ Jesus, and grown cool in charity
 “and love towards his brethren, he is gone into
 “a spirit of enmity, wrath and self-exaltation,
 “contention and janglings, and as a person
 “without the fear of God before his eyes, and
 “without regard to his christian brethren, and
 “letting loose the reins of an extravagant
 “tongue, he hath broken out into many un-
 “godly speeches, railing accusations and pas-
 “sionate threatnings towards many of his bre-
 “thren, and elders, and that upon slender oc-
 “casions: And when some in christian duty have
 “laid before him his unfavoury words and un-
 “christian frame, he hath treated them with
 “vile words, and abusive language, such as a
 “person of common civility would loath: It
 “hath been too frequent with him, and that in
 “a transport of heat and passion, to call some
 “of his brethren in the ministry, and other el-
 “ders, and that upon small provocations (if
 “any) fools, ignorant heathens, infidels, silly
 “souls, liars, hereticks, rotten ranters, Mug-
 “gletonians, and other names of that infamous
 “strain,

" strain, thereby to our grief, foaming out his
 " shame: And further, his anger and envy, be-
 " ing cruel against us, and not contenting him-
 " self with his harshness against persons, he pro-
 " ceeded in bitterness of spirit to charge our
 " meetings with being come together to cloak
 " heresy and deceit; and publishing openly se-
 " veral times, that there were more doctrine of
 " devils, and damnable heresies, among the Qua-
 " kers, than among any profession among the pro-
 " testants. He hath long objected against our dis-
 " cipline, even soon after his coming among us;
 " and having prepared a draught of his own,
 " and the same not finding the expected recep-
 " tion, he seemed disgusted. Since which he
 " hath often quarrelled with us about confes-
 " sions, declaring that *he knew none given forth*
 " *by the body of friends to his satisfaction*, and
 " often charged most of us with being unsound
 " in the faith. We have offered in several meet-
 " ings for his satisfaction, and to prevent strife
 " amongst us, and for preserving the peace of the
 " church, to deliver a confession of our christian
 " faith, in the words of our Lord and Saviour
 " Jesus Christ, the author of the christian faith,
 " and in the words of the apostles, and disciples,
 " his faithful followers; or we would declare
 " our belief in testimonies of our ancient friends
 " and faithful brethren, who were generally
 " received by us; or we would concur and
 " agree upon a confession and have it trans-
 " mitted for the approbation of the yearly meet-
 " ing here, or the yearly meeting at London;
 " yea, it was offered unto him at the same time,
 " that a confession concerning the main matters
 " of controversy should be given out of a book
 " of

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CHAP. VI. " of his own; but all was slighted as insufficient.
 1692. " The Lord knows the trouble which we have
 " had with this unruly member; and the open-
 " ness of our hearts, and well-wishes towards
 " him, notwithstanding his rage and violence
 " against us, and of the endeavours of many in
 " this place, to have gained upon him by a
 " friendly converse, and by other means, not
 " inconsiderable to a brotherly freedom: But
 " our labour hitherto seems to be as water spilt
 " upon a rock. And this meeting having or-
 " derly and tenderly dealt with him for his abu-
 " sive language and disorderly behaviour, he
 " hath not only slighted all applications of gain-
 " ing him to a sense of his ill treatment and mis-
 " carriages, but in an insulting manner said to
 " the friends appointed by the meeting to admo-
 " nish him, *that he trampled the judgment of the*
 " *meeting under his feet as dirt*: and hath of-
 " late set up a separate meeting here, where he
 " hath, like an open opposer, not only reviled
 " several friends by exposing their religious re-
 " putations in mixed auditories of some hun-
 " dreds, endeavouring to render them, and
 " friends here, by the press, and otherwise, a
 " scorn to the profane, and the song of the
 " drunkards; but he hath traduced and vilified
 " our worthy travelling friends James Dickenson
 " and Thomas Wilson, in their powerful and
 " savoury ministry, whose services not only here,
 " but in most meetings in England, Scotland
 " and Ireland, are well known to have a seal in
 " the hearts of many thousands. He hath also
 " within a few weeks appeared in opposition,
 " as it were, to the body of friends, by putting
 " on his hat, when our well received and re-
 " commended

" commended friend James Dickenson was at c H A P
 " prayer, and that in a meeting of near a VI.
 " thousand friends and others, and so going 1692.
 " out of the meeting to the great disquiet there-
 " of, and to the drawing some scores into the
 " same opposition with him, by his ill ex-
 " ample. And by thus persisting in his repeated
 " oppositions, hard speeches, and continued se-
 " paration, and labouring like an unwearied ad-
 " versary, to widen the breach made by him,
 " and so abusing some of the neighbouring
 " meetings, by being as yet under that cover of
 " being owned by us; we are hereby brought
 " under a religious constraint and to prevent
 " other meetings of being further injured by
 " him, to give forth this testimony, strained as
 " it were from us by his many and violent pro-
 " vocations, viz. That we cannot own him in
 " such ungodly speeches and disorderly beha-
 " viour, or in his separate meetings; and that
 " we disown the same as proceeding from a
 " wrong spirit, which brings into disorder in-
 " wardly, and leads into distraction and confu-
 " sion outwardly; and until he condemn and
 " decline the same, we cannot receive him
 " in his public ministry, and would have him
 " cease to offer his gift as such amongst us, or
 " elsewhere amongst friends, until he be recon-
 " ciled to his offended brethern. And as to
 " those few of our brethren in the gift of the
 " ministry, who are gone out with George
 " Keith, into his uncharitable and dividing spirit
 " (the miserable effects whereof many of us have
 " sufficiently known in Old England and other
 " parts) our judgment is, that while they con-
 "

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“ tinue such, they become unqualified to the
 “ work of the gospel, as degenerating from the
 “ guidance of God’s blessed and peaceable spirit
 “ in their hearts (from whence proceeds the ef-
 “ fectual New Testament ministry) and be-
 “ ing turned from the peaceable fruits thereof,
 “ are gone into uncharitableness and conten-
 “ tion.

“ And now all you who have walked in fel-
 “ lowship and communion with us, and are
 “ drawn aside through inconsideration or other-
 “ wise into this spirit of separation and preju-
 “ dice against our meetings, orderly established,
 “ and wherein we have been often mutually
 “ refreshed together, we cannot but in the fear
 “ of God, and in love to your souls, admonish
 “ you, also of the insecurity of your present state,
 “ and that therein we cannot have unity with
 “ you, and unless you return from under that
 “ spirit, dryness and barrenness from the Lord
 “ will be your reward. And so dear friends
 “ we exhort you all to behave yourselves in
 “ the spirit of meekness, and peaceable truth,
 “ upon all occasions, but more especially upon
 “ any discourse or conference with any of
 “ them who are discontented among you, or
 “ have started aside from you; and avoid all
 “ heats and contentions, in matters of faith and
 “ worship; and let not the salt of the covenant
 “ be wanting in your words and actions, for
 “ thereby the favour of your conversation will
 “ reach the witness of God in them. The grace
 “ of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.
 “ Amen !

“ Given

" Given forth by the meeting of public friends C H A P. VI.
 " in Philadelphia the 20th of the 4th month, }
 " 1692. 1692.

" Thomas Lloyd,	" John Blunston,
" John Willsford,	" William Cooper,
" Nicholas Waln,	" Thomas Thackory
" William Watfon,	" William Byles,
" George Maris,	" Samuel Jennings,
" Thomas Duckett,	" John Delaval,
" Joshua Fearne,	" William Yeardly,
" Even Morris,	" Joseph Kirkbride,
" Richard Walter,	" Walter Fawcitt,
" John Symcock,	" Hugh Roberts,
" Griffith Owen,	" Robert Owen,
" John Bown,	" William Walker,
" Henry Willis,	" John Lynam,
" Paul Sanders,	" George Gray,"

George Keith having drawn a considerable party to join him in his opposition, now set up a separate meeting. This party adopted the name of Quakers, but by way of distinction assumed to themselves the ostentatious appellation of *Christian Quakers and Friends*. * This separate meeting soon published a counter testimony signed by twenty-eight of them, disowning all those concerned in denying George Keith; and soon after that another paper, which they entitled, *An expostulation with Samuel Jennings, Thomas Lloyd and the rest of the twenty-eight unjust judges and signers of the paper of condemnation against George Keith and his friends*. Both these papers were

G. Keith sets up a separate meeting.

Publisheth a counter testimony.

Y 2 drawn

* Vide, Appeal from the twenty-eight Judges, &c.

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drawn up with artfulness, and calculated to catch the humours of the unwary and unsteady; and being circulated, and puffed with all the industry of party zeal, a wide schism ensued; much passion and rancour on one side, occasioned much painful exercise, vigilance, circumspection and patience on the other. They went on venting their malevolence in one defamatory libel, after another; injuriously mutilating and culling such passages out of friends writings, public testimonies and private conversations, as might best serve their own partial purposes, making their own comments, and putting their own meaning upon these passages, in order by such unfair procedure to make their opponents appear unsound in principle and ridiculous in practice; sacrificing truth and equity to the gratification of their envy.

The government of this province at this time being placed in hands which William Penn had selected, I presume, from the most suitable in rank, character and abilities amongst those, who had accompanied him to his new colony, of whom the greater number being of the people called Quakers, many of this people, and several of their ministers, were put into offices of magistracy and of government. This expanded the field for party prejudice to range more widely. George Keith had early brought over to his party one William Bradford, the Printer there, whereby he had a ready means of publishing all his defamatory writings; and his present disposition of mind instigating him to lay hold upon every occasion to depreciate the Quakers, and deprive them of that place of estimation with the people which their public and private conduct

duct had justly procured, them, took occasion from some late public transactions*, to reflect upon and calumniate the principal magistrates for their judicial proceedings in restraining robbers and bringing murderers to justice. † In this attack of the magistrates, George Keith seemed to have two objects in view; to gratify his malevolence against the Quakers, and encrease the number of his adherents; a point of great consequence with him; for several of the Menonists from the county of Meurs (being of that class of baptists who hold magistracy unlawful for a christian to exercise) had removed into Pennsylvania, and by these means he brought several of these to side with him, or favour his cause. But this liberty (or more properly the abuse thereof) taken by Keith and his partisans, put the magistrates under the necessity to vindicate the laws and excellent constitution of their country, under which they acted, and which, by the united testimony of the judicious and impartial part of mankind, they supported with honour and justice,

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G. Keith
reflects
upon the
magistrates
for their ju-
dicial pro-
ceedings.

* In the beginning of the year 1691, one Babit and his crew stole a small sloop from a wharf in Philadelphia, and going down the river committed divers robberies, of which information being given to the magistrates, three of them issued a warrant to take them in order to bring them to legal trial, by virtue whereof they were taken, and brought to justice. The magistrates, who granted the warrant, being some or all of them of those called Quakers, George Keith and his adherents made their comments upon this as a proceeding inconsistent with their principle against bearing arms, and dressed it in the most aggravating colours, which party prejudice could invent, although the most he could make of it was, that a Peter Bos with a few more took them, without gun, sword or spear.—Smith.

† Sewel.

C H A P. VI. tice, for the benefit and peace of the state, to
 1692. proceed against them. First William Bradford
 the printer, and John McComb the publisher,
 of a reflecting paper, were by a warrant from
 five Magistrates taken up, examined and com-
 mitted to prison, but discharged without being
 brought to trial; and the latter was afterwards
 so just as to give a true state of the case. George
 Keith and Thomas Budd were also presented by
 the grand jury of Philadelphia, as authors of a-
 nother tract of like tendency; this presentment
 being prosecuted, the matter was brought to
 trial, and the parties fined 5l. each; but the
 fines were not levied.

The printer
 and pub-
 lisher of a
 reflecting
 paper im-
 prisoned.

G. Keith
 and T. Budd
 presented
 by the
 grand jury
 and fined.

These proceedings without doubt added fewel
 to the flame, and exasperated these men, and
 their adherents, to represent them with the usual
 partiality of the spirit of party, to raise a clamour
 of persecution against the magistrates, who con-
 sidering the mischievous design and tendency of
 these publications, to introduce disorder and
 faction into this state in its infancy, thought it
 necessary to prevent the fatal consequence of such
 licentious measures by publishing the following
 vindication of their aforesaid proceedings.

“ At a private sessions, held for the county of
 “ Philadelphia the 25th of the 6th month, 1692,
 “ before

“ Arthur Cooke,
 “ Samuel Jennings,
 “ Samuel Richardson,
 “ Humphrey Murray,
 “ Anthony Morris,
 “ Robert Ewer

} Justices of the county,

Whereas

"Whereas the government of this province C H A P.
 "being by the late king of England's peculiar VI.
 "favour vested and since continued in governor 1692.
 "Penn, who thought fit to make his and our
 "worthy friend Thomas Lloyd his deputy go-
 "vernor, by, and under whom the magistrates
 "do act in the government,—and whereas it
 "hath been proved before us, that George Keith,
 "being a resident here, did contrary to his
 "duty publicly revile the said deputy governor
 "by calling him an impudent man, telling
 "him he was not fit to be a governor, and that
 "his name would stink, with many other slight-
 "ing and abusive expressions, both to him and
 "the magistrates (and he that useth such exor-
 "bitancy of speech towards our said governor,
 "may be supposed will easily dare to call the
 "members of council, and magistrates, impu-
 "dent rascals, as he hath lately called one in an
 "open assembly, that was constituted by the
 "proprietary to be a magistrate,) and he also
 "charges the magistrates, who are ministers
 "here, with ingrossing the ministerial power
 "into their hands, that they might usurp au-
 "thority over him, saying also, he hoped in
 "God he should shortly see their power taken
 "from them: All which he acted in an indecent
 "manner.

"And further, the said George Keith with
 "several of his adherents, having some few days
 "since, with unusual insolence, by a printed
 "sheet called *An Appeal*, &c. traduced, and
 "vilely misrepresented the industry, care, rea-
 "diness and vigilance of some magistrates, and
 "others here, in their late proceedings, against
 "the privateers Babbit and his crew in
 "order

C H A P. VI. " order to bring them to condign punishment,
 1692. " whereby to discourage such attempts for the
 " future; and have thereby also defamed
 " and arraigned the determinations of the prin-
 " cipal judicature against murderers, and not
 " only so, but also by wrong insinuations, hath
 " laboured to possess the readers of their pamph-
 " let that it is inconsistent for those who are
 " ministers of the gospel, to act as magistrates,
 " which if granted, will render our said pro-
 " prietary incapable of the powers given him by
 " the said king's letters patents, and so prosti-
 " tute the validity of every act of government,
 " more especially in the executive part thereof,
 " to the courtesy and censure of all factious
 " spirits and male-contents under the same.

" Now forasmuch as we, as well as others
 " have borne, and still do patiently indure the
 " said George Keith and his adherents, in their
 " many personal reflections against us, and their
 " gross revilings of our religious society, yet we
 " cannot (without the violation of our trust to the
 " king and governor, as also to the inhabitants of
 " this government) pass by, or connive at, such
 " part of the said pamphlet and speeches, that
 " have a tendency to sedition, and disturbance
 " of the peace, as also to the subversion of the
 " present government, or to the aspersing of the
 " magistrates thereof.

" Therefore for the undeceiving of all people
 " we have thought fit by this public writing, not
 " only to signify that our procedure against the
 " persons, now in the sheriffs custody, as well as
 " what we intend against others concerned (in
 " its proper place) respects only that part of the
 " said printed sheet, which appears to have the
 " tendency

PC tendency aforesaid, and not any part relating
 "to differences in religion, but also these are
 "to caution such, who are well affected to the
 "security, peace and legal administration of jus-
 "tice in this place that they give no counte-
 "nance to any revilers, and contemnners of au-
 "thority, magistrates or magistracy, as also to
 "warn all other persons that they forbear the
 "further publishing and spreading of the said
 "pamphlets, as they will answer the contrary
 "at their peril.

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 1692.

"Given under our hands and seal of the
 "county, the day, year and place aforesaid."

As George Keith persevered after all in the same line of conduct, the general meetings thought it their duty to confirm the judgment and testimony of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, whereby they had disowned him. First the quarterly meeting of ministers held at Philadelphia, the 20th of the 4th month, 1692: And afterwards the yearly meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held in Burlington the 7th of the 7th month following, published their respective testimonies of approbation of, and unity with the proceedings of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia in his case. So that being now publickly disowned by the meetings representative of the whole body of friends in those parts of America where he dwelt, and the meetings of which he was a member; we are now to consider him no longer as a member of this society, but as an open and professed adversary, and leader of a sect in opposition to them: Yet he would still lay claim to the name, although he had separated from them, and made a dangerous schism,

C H A P. VI. schism, alledging his dissatisfaction was only with
 1692. some unsound Quakers in America; but he was
 in unity with all faithful friends in England.

So when strangers from Europe or other parts came on religious visits into those countries, he would affect unity with them, and endeavour to ingratiate himself into their favourable opinion; but as soon as they discovered any dislike of his proceedings, he would give them little better treatment, than he did the colonists. Two of these, Thomas Everdon and Richard Hoskins, travelling at this time in Pensylvania in the exercise of their ministry, being well qualified ministers, and men of meek and humble spirits, with whom, particularly the former, he said, he had good unity: Yet two days after being at a meeting, where they were concerned in their ministry, to the edification of their brethren, he rudely and openly opposed them, calling several times as they were proceeding in their testimonies, hypocrites! hypocrites! And Thomas Everdon, with whom he had so lately professed his unity, he called in the face of the assembly, consisting of several hundreds, *the greatest hypocrite that ever stood upon two legs.*

Thomas Wilson also and James Dickenson from Cumberland, Great Britain, arrived about this time on a christian visit to their friends in North America; and being ministers eminently qualified with experience and abilities to minister to the edification of their brethren, their arrival at this season was of great service in these provinces; both to recover and confirm the wavering, and to admonish Geo. Keith, and those that joined him, of the hurt to themselves and reproach to religion, which must necessarily fol-
 low

low their giving way to such intemperance of spirit and conduct. Thomas Wilson hereby incurred George Keith's greatest resentment at first; but afterwards James Dickenson, to whom he professed a great amity and regard, became equally obnoxious thereto, the occasion whereof will appear by the following extract from Thomas Wilson's journal.

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1692.

"We went to Philadelphia, where we found the difference between George Keith and friends broke out to an open separation, he having gathered a company to himself, and set up a separate meeting, which was cause of great exercise to faithful friends; and he seeing we did not go to his meeting, sent us a challenge to dispute, which we readily complied with, and had a meeting with him and his party, a great many faithful friends accompanying us: We sat a while in silence to hear his charges against friends, viz. that some of them were not sound in faith, doctrine and principle, but did not prove it, nor suffer friends to answer him, but went on in railing: We made remarks, though said nothing, which raised a great desire in him and his abettors to have another meeting with me and my companion, which we readily agreed to.

"Sometime after having divers friends along with us, we met again with the said George Keith, and the chief of his abettors; and being quietly set to hear what he had to say, he advanced his former charge against friends, as being unsound in faith, doctrine and principle unto which I answered, saying, *No error in faith, doctrine or principle of particular men*
" (or

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1629.

“ (or persons) was a sufficient reason for him to
 “ set up a separate meeting. He opposed me;
 “ then I asked liberty to be heard, and told
 “ him to this effect: *If he and his company were*
 “ *sound in faith and doctrine, and men of God,*
 “ *they should have kept up their testimony for the*
 “ *Lord in the meeting; and if there must have been*
 “ *a separation, such unsound men or (persons)*
 “ *would have gone away from friends, as those*
 “ *did formerly, of whom John said, they went*
 “ *out from us, but they were not of us, for if*
 “ *they had been of us, they would no doubt have*
 “ *continued with us, but they went out that they*
 “ *might be made manifest, that they were not all of*
 “ *us.* I also asked them, *whether ever they knew*
 “ *faithful friends in England leave their meet-*
 “ *ing, and set up a separate meeting?* Thus we
 “ left the dispute at that time, and went to visit
 “ the meetings of friends in the *Welch tract* or
 “ plantation, and to and fro in the country; so
 “ returned again to Philadelphia, and had a
 “ third meeting (very large) with *Keith* and his
 “ party.—I told them, *they were gone from the*
 “ *Lord in an airy flourish, and the wit of man,*
 “ *and had set up a separate meeting, but in a*
 “ *little time the sun of righteousness would shine*
 “ *amongst them, and drive away the misty doc-*
 “ *trines of men, and that they (meaning the se-*
 “ *paratists) should dwindle, die away, and come*
 “ *to nothing, except such who were most honest*
 “ *(towards God) who should return to truth and*
 “ *friends; which in a little time was fulfilled in*
 “ both respects.

“ Now leaving friends at *Philadelphia*, we
 “ went into the country to a meeting, to which
 “ *George Keith* came, and asked me where we
 “ would

“ would be on the first-day ? saying also, that he
 “ had appointed a meeting to be the next first
 “ day at *Crosswix* ; and finding freedom, I went
 “ thither, but my companion *James Dickenson*
 “ found drawings from the Lord to go to *Phi-*
 “ *ladelphia* and be at the meeting there that
 “ first day, to which *George Keith* came con-
 “ trary to his appointment, and leaving his se-
 “ parate meeting, met with friends in their large
 “ meeting-house, and preached fawningly, as
 “ though he and *James Dickenson* were in unity,
 “ but after he had done *James* stood up in
 “ great authority in the Lord’s power, and con-
 “ futed *George’s* doctrine and practice, setting
 “ truth over him and his party, and opened the
 “ mystery of salvation to the people, to their
 “ great satisfaction ; after which *George Keith*
 “ went away in great wrath, and the people
 “ who were not friends, being many, cried
 “ aloud, *Give way and let the devil come out*, for
 “ the little black man from *England* has got the
 “ day ; after which *George* called his party toge-
 “ ther to their meeting-house, and told them
 “ that *James Dickenson* had never appeared
 “ against him till that day, but had then made
 “ himself equal with *Thomas Wilson* (meaning in
 “ opposition to him, &c.”)

In short *George Keith* had suffered his passion and prejudice to imbitter his mind to such a degree, that few or none under the name of a Quaker, whose virtues and services placed them in a rank of estimation, and were too steadfast in the faith to countenance his proceedings, escaped his revilings and calumnies : Since his being disowned, he spent his time about *Burlington*, *Philadelphia*, and other places adjacent
 amongst

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1692.

amongst his disciples, writing in his own and their defence, and establishing them as well as he could in his novel doctrines: But the matter of his being disowned by so many meetings* sitting very uneasy upon him, after causing so much trouble and dissension amongst a people, reputable for the peace and good order in general maintained by them, in America, he set sail for England in the beginning of the year 1694, accompanied by his intimate friend and associate Thomas Budd, in order to lay his complaint before the yearly meeting in London, and as the sequel proved, to endeavour to foment contention and disorder among friends in England, as he had done in America: Where leaving him to pursue his journey, it seems proper to break off this disagreeable narrative, to bring forward the affairs and transactions of friends in England during this period, and thenceforward.

* Beside the monthly and quarterly meetings of Philadelphia, and the yearly meeting of Burlington, already mentioned, friends of Bucks county, of Maryland, Long-Island and others, had testified their disunity with the proceedings of George Keith and his adherents.

C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

Account of Thomas Story's Convincement.—His Birth and Education.—Brought up to the Study of the Law.—He conceives Offence at some Ceremonies in the public worship.—And declines attending it.—He goes to a Meeting of the People called Quakers.—In which feeling a divine Power attending his Mind, he soon after enters into their Society.—Receives a gift in the Ministry, and travels much in the Exercise thereof.—Life and Character of Stephen Crisp.—Application for an Affirmation Act.—Death of Queen Mary.—Declaration of the People called Quakers, &c.

IN this year Thomas Story joined himself in society with the people called Quakers, whose convincingment was not owing to the ministry of any instrument; but to the immediate operation of the grace of God in his own heart, of which himself hath given a remarkable narrative in the journal of his own life. He was born at Justice-town, near Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, where he had the advantage of a liberal education, being designed by his father for the study of the law. He had an early inclination to solitude, which he sometimes spent in religious thoughtfulness, and frequently in reading the holy scriptures, which he prized and delighted in above all books, especially the New Testament, not only at this time, but in the succeeding

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Account of
Thomas
Story's con-
vincement.His birth
and educa-
tion.

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 1691. ceeding stages of his life, when in repute for the excellency of his understanding and his extensive learning.

But his solitude was interrupted by a plan of education accounted genteel, but, in his opinion, not well calculated to promote religious enquiries or experience; being put to learn fencing and music, by which he not only found his mind drawn away from serious considerations, but he contracted society, which was not favourable to religion.

Designed for
 a lawyer.

He was next placed with a counsellor in the country to commence his studies in the law; preparatory to his entering one of the inns of court for the completion thereof, where being much in the country, in a sober and religious family of the most moderate sort of Presbyterians, he had again the advantage of solitude and little company, and that innocent, so that he recovered his former seriousness in a good degree. And though he indulged himself at times in some youthful airs, yet through secret grace he was preserved from gross evils, and his agreeable manners gained him respect with all the family.

Conceives
 offence at
 some ceremonies in
 the public
 worship.

He received his education as to religion in the church of England, but as his mind, intent upon investigating truth, was illuminated with a discovery of some practices which appeared to him relicks of superstition, and in no wise conducive to advance pure religion, it occasioned him some offence and some doubts of the propriety thereof. For the family removing from the country to Carlisle, he was diligent in attending the public worship, especially at the cathedral, where the turning their faces toward the east at the

the repetition of the apostle's creed ; and at the mention of the word Jesus bowing and kneeling toward the altar-table (on which were two common prayer books in folio, and over them painted on the wall I. H. S.) were ceremonies which, he not comprehending the use or benefit of, gave him uneasiness, as esteeming them relics of Popery ; and although he continued to go thither a little longer, yet he could not comply with several of the ceremonies used there.

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1691.

Afterwards being invited to a christening (so termed) of a relation's child, he conceived additional offence at the ceremony of baptizing the infant, as apprehending, we have neither example nor precept in scripture for the manner then practised in that ceremony.

At infant baptism.

Being still attentive to the reproofs of instruction, which are the way to life, he felt them a law condemning those thoughts, expressions, passions and affections, which are fixed in the first nature, and rooted in the carnal mind ; and experienced that spiritual warfare begun, wherein he felt the law in his members warring against the law in his mind, and saw and felt many things in himself, unnoticed by any man, but clearly discovered by the measure of light he was favoured with, to be obstructions to his growth in religion, and which were to be subdued and consumed by the spirit of judgment and of burning ; the lust of the flesh, and of the eye, and the pride of life, the produce of every soil, and which in him had much to feed upon ; the elegant airs of a youth well bred, strength, activity and comeliness of person ; mental endowments, and competent acquisition of literature ; the glory, advancements and preferments of the

C H A P. world spreading their nets before him, and the
 VII. friendship of the world beginning to court him
 with flattering address.


1691.
 Forfakes his
 former ac-
 quaintance.

But through the illumination of divine light, and the assistance of the grace of God, he was enabled to deny all these worldly lusts, and to attain moral righteousness, and sequester himself from all his former acquaintances, whose manners and conversation, though not vicious (for such he never affected) yet as they had not the knowledge of God, became burdensome and irksome to him, in the present serious and enquiring state of his mind.

As he followed on to know the Lord, he was favoured with deeper and clearer manifestations of the purity of true religion, and to the spiritual eye it was discovered, that the Son of God was not yet effectually revealed in him, nor the old man by the power of the holy cross sufficiently mortified and slain; which encreased his internal enquiry after essential truth, and his attention to the monitor in his own breast for information; as he did not know of any in all the world to teach him, or that the Lord had any people then on earth, owned by his presence with them, as his flock and family.

After a season of deep humiliation under the sense of his being short of that purity, which was discovered to his mind as an object to aspire after, being strengthened to resign his soul to the divine will; in this state of resignation, the sun of righteousness arose in him with healing and restoring virtue, whereby his old self, and the whole carnal mind, with all that dwelt therein, self-love, pride, evil thoughts and evil desires, with the whole corruption of the first state
 and

and natural life, were wounded and slain, his mind became serene and free from anxiety, in a state like that of a little child. CHAP. VII.

These secret operations were confined to his own breast, so that no man knew any thing of them; only an alteration was perceived in him, but the cause unseen. He put off his usual airs, his jovial conduct and address; laid aside his sword; burnt his instruments of music; divested himself of the superfluous part of his apparel, confining himself to that which was decent, plain and useful. He declined the public worship; but not with a design to join himself to any other sect. For he was apt to conclude, from what he had observed; that these inward manifestations were peculiar to himself, and that there was not any people, with whom he might properly associate. 1691.  He declines the public worship.

Continuing in silence and solitude he advanced in religious experience, and with this experience his inward peace and consolation encreased. In this state of mind he was led into a consideration of the states of many persons in the national way of worship, as also among the dissenters of divers denominations; for although he received his education in the way of the church of England, he had no aversion to any class professing the christian name; but occasionally heard several sorts, but did not fully approve any sect in all things, as he came to consider them closely; yet observing many, who seemed men of sincerity, and to have good intentions in their respective modes of worship, he began to question whether it might not be through his own fault, for want of the true knowledge of God heretofore, that he did not

C H A P. enjoy his presence among them, as he had done
 VII. in his retirement; and therefore determined to
 go again and see, and accordingly he went to
 the public worship at the place called St. Cuth-
 bert's in Carlisle, and although he retired in his
 mind, to feel after the divine presence, as he was
 wont to do in his solitary waiting, he found him-
 self veiled in darkness, and encompassed in
 trouble, to that degree, that it was only in regard
 to decency he could prevail upon himself to
 tarry till their worship was ended, which being
 over he returned to his chamber in trouble, and
 went not among them any more. But though
 he declined all outward worship, determining to
 follow the Lord, wheresoever he might see good
 to lead him; yet he found his mind clothed with
 universal charity and benevolence, to all man-
 kind of every denomination.

In his solitude at a certain time the people
 called Quakers were suddenly, and with some
 surprize, brought to his mind, with an impres-
 sion sufficiently deep, to induce a secret inclina-
 tion to enquire after them, their principles and
 manner of worship.

He goes to a
 meeting of
 the Quakers
 at Brough-
 ton,

An opportunity presented in the 5th month
 1691, when meeting with a member of that so-
 ciety, and enquiring of him concerning some
 points of their religion, he perceived no mate-
 rial difference between their sentiments and his
 own, and being invited by the friend to accom-
 pany him next day (being the first day of the
 week) to their meeting at Broughton, he readily
 complied.

The meeting at their arrival being fully ga-
 thered, he sat down among the throng of the
 people in inward retirement. And though one
 of

of their ministers began to speak, yet his attention was more turned to what passed in his own mind, with a desire to gain an intelligence, whether the Lord owned them with his presence in their religious assemblies, than to the doctrine at that time delivered, and he soon received a convincing evidence of what he desired to know.

For not long after he sat down amongst them, the like divine power, which he had of late been favoured with in his private retirements, overshadowed his mind with abundant consolation; and whereas from general observation, he had perceived the prevailing formality in religious profession amongst the various sects and denominations, contenting themselves in that religion, which was merely the effect of education or tradition, he was ready to apprehend himself, like the prophet, alone, in this inward experience of the refining work of the washing of regeneration, and the mental consolation in consequence thereof, he now perceived that herein he was mistaken; for he was convinced, beyond a doubt, that the same divine presence and holy influence attended the greatest part of the meeting, and that under the shadow of the wing of divine power they sat with great delight: Under this edifying sensation they felt themselves mutually comforted and united, and made one another's joy in the Lord. For the friends there being generally sensible, he was affected and tendered with them by the influence of the truth, they made profession of and concluded he had at that time, and not before, been convinced thereof, their joy was as at the return of a penitent. And his joy was in the view of reformation so far advanced in the earth; when not long

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VII.

1691.

in which he
is favoured
with consolation,

which he
perceives
was the case
with the
greater part
of the
meeting.

CHAP. long before he had thought there had been scarce
 VII. any true and living faith or knowledge of God
 in the world.

1691.
 He continues to attend their meetings.

From this time, he continued to attend their meetings, as he had opportunity, and as he became more intimately acquainted with them, he felt the bands of near unity with them daily strengthened, and was not ashamed on the following occasion openly to acknowledge himself a member of their society, although so generally despised by the world.

At the time of the assizes at Carlisle, an acquaintance of his applied to him, in regard to a suit he had to come on the next day for the greatest part of his property; and Thomas being the only witness to the deeds of conveyance he could at present procure, he desired him not to fail giving his attendance at the court early the next morning. Thomas, in answer to his request, said, "I am concerned it should fall out so (for he had a friendly regard for the man, and saw his case was very hard.) "but I will appear, if
 "it please God, and testify what I know in the
 "matter, and do what I can for you in that
 "way; but I cannot swear." This answer got the better of the man's patience, so far as to make him in a passion reply with an oath, "What! you are not a Quaker sure!" As he had neither hitherto received from others, nor assumed himself this appellation, nor as yet saw whether he had so much unity with all their tenets, as might justify him in adopting the name, he continued silent and attentive to the truth in his own mind, till clear in his understanding what answer to make, and then he said, "I must confess the truth, I am a Quaker."

Owens himself a Quaker.

This

This plain confession encreased his peace, and his acquaintance's perplexity and vexation, whose case appeared to him hereby rendered desperate ; so that in the height of his passion he threatened to have Thomas fined and proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law, exclaiming, " What ! must I lose my estate for your ground-
 " less notions and whims ? " Thomas Story was not free from anxiety in consequence of this menace, under the probable prospect of fining and imprisonment, and of little help from his father or friends, but rather of their displeasure at such an unaccountable scruple, as it would appear to them. After some time of silent meditation he felt strength to resign himself to the divine disposal, under the consciousness of a good intention, and therein found his anxiety vanish, and his mind center in serenity. And next morning, as he was going up to the courthouse, in expectation of being called as a witness in the case aforementioned, he met his acquaintance in a very different disposition from that in which he had left him the night before, for with a cheerful countenance, denoting friendship and affection, he said, " I can tell you good news ; my adversary hath yielded the cause, " we are agreed, to my satisfaction."

He continued diligently to attend the meetings of this people, where, in a state of silence, his heart was frequently tendered and broken, as well as under a powerful living ministry ; ^{He receives a gift in the ministry.} and some years after his joining this society, he received a gift in the ministry himself ; and devoted much of his time to travelling in the exercise

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VII.

1691.

ercise thereof, for the edification of his brethren, and the convincement of others, in most parts of the British dominions, on both sides of the Atlantic. There were few of his cotemporaries more diligent, or more esteemed for their gospel labours, than he was, not only within the society, but also without the meetings which he visited, being frequently attended with a numerous concourse of people of other societies.

His conversion gave considerable uneasiness to his relations, particularly his father, chiefly because it crossed his views as to his son's rising to eminence in that line for which he designed him; for Thomas clearly perceived that the practice of the law, and being conversant in frequent suits and contests of the world, would disturb the peace and serenity of his mind, expose him to many temptations, and be the probable means of preventing his advancement in religious experience, and an obstruction to the fulfilling of his duty, he therefore finally resolved to decline the practice of the law, though the only thing designed as the means to procure him a living; accordingly the next persons who came to employ him in business of that kind, he refused, telling them he should not undertake business of that kind any more.

1692.
Life and
character of
Stephen
Crisp.

In this year Stephen Crisp of Colchester terminated a life of righteousness and repute, very much, and very successfully employed in propagating the doctrines of truth, as held by the people called Quakers, amongst whom he was distinguished for his labours in the ministry, and for his eminent qualifications for service. He was born at Colchester in Essex in the year 1628, where he received his education, at a time when religion

religion lay much in seeking after truth and purity, rather than settling in any established form. This friend appears to have been one of those, who were seriously engaged in seeking a religion, wherein he might find rest to his soul; but was seeking many years before he could find it. For from an early age he had a religious turn of mind, and therein was favoured with light to distinguish between good and evil, and with earnest desires to obtain power over the evil and corruptions of nature; that he might pursue after that goodness he had a discerning of, without obstruction: In order whereto, he became a very attentive hearer and regarnder of those reputed the best ministers, and even at this tender age gave himself up to reading, and resorted to hear sermons with as much cheerfulness, as other children resorted to their play and diversions; and yet could not meet with what he was seeking after; power over his infirmities, nor a foundation to rest upon with security. He went from preacher to preacher, and from one society to another, till wearied out with his fruitless search he detached himself from close connection with every visible society; but wandered up and down, sometimes to one sect of people, sometimes to another, taking a sharp inspection into their lives and doctrines, though he confesses, he left his own garden undressed, until many noisome weeds overgrew. He began to take delight in airy and mirthful company, and indulging himself in a participation of their pleasures; but in the midst of his mirth, the reproofs of the monitor in his own breast followed him with strong convictions, and finally put a stop to his deviation. He then renewed his enquiries of one kind

CHAP.

VII.

1692.

CHAP. kind of professors and another, and how peace

VII. and assurance might be attained. Amongst the

rest, falling in with the baptists, they told him

1692. the only way was to be obedient to the com-

He falls in
with the
baptists, is
baptized,
and joins
in their
commu-
nion.

mands and ordinances of Jesus Christ; to imi-
tate the primitive saints; to walk in church or-
der and communion, where every one had the
strength of many; and all the church are bound
to watch over every member. To these senti-

Becomes
more re-
served in his
conduct,

ments he yielded assent, joined them in commu-
nion, and submitted to their mode of baptism,
expecting to attain thereby greater power over
sin than before; but found it not to be the bap-
tism which now saveth, being only a washing
away of the filth of the flesh; which conveyed
not the ability he was looking for, to attain the
essential part, *the answer of a good conscience
toward God*; and though he strove much in the
strength of his own will and wisdom, to subdue
his inclination to levity and jocularity, and by a
more stayed and sober conduct to contribute to
the reputation of the religion he had chosen, that
he might not appear to have run and changed all
in vain, yet he still felt that he continued to want
what he wanted before, power to gain the vic-
tory over his corruptions; he therefore was in-
duced to look for something more substantial
than signs and shadows, being impressed with a
belief, that a way would be revealed, superior to
all he had been acquainted with, though he
knew not what it might be.

but meets
not with
what he
wanted.

This was about the time that the people dis-
tinguished by the contemptuous denomination
of Quakers became the subject of much conver-
sation, generally in the line of censure and con-
tumely; he could hear no good report of them,
only

only they were universally the objects of scorn and averſion, evil treatment and perfecution, and that they were remarkable for bearing all the injuries, to which they were expoſed with patience. This ſeemed to have a different effect upon him from what it had upon many of thoſe he converſed with; for he was in expectation that when this way, which he looked for as more perfect, than what he had hitherto found, ſhould be diſcovered, it would be hated and perfecuted; whereby he was influenced with a ſtrong deſire, that ſome of the miniſters of that denomination might viſit their parts, as he heard they had done fundry other parts of the nation; and it was not long till James Parnel came to Colcheſter, in the year 1655, by whoſe miniſtry and converſation Stephen Crisp was effectually convinced, as hath been already related in its place *. After his convincement he had many conflicts to endure, before he attained the deſire of his ſoul; he found he muſt put off the old man with his deeds, his words, his imaginations and his wiſdom; take up the croſs of Chriſt, and bear it upon him; which as he willingly ſubmitted to, he found it to be to him, that which he had been ſeeking from his childhood, even the power of God, whereby he was crucified to the world, and the world unto him. By theſe means attaining experience in the redeeming work of true religion, he became in due time qualified for ſervice in the church, firſt in the diſcipline, in the care and overſight of the poor, which care he diſcharged with fidelity, both in adminiſtering advice and relief, as exigency

C H A P.
VII.
1692.
He is convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers by the miniſtry of James Parnel.

* See Vol. I. page 182.

CHAP. gency required; and afterwards in the work of
 VII. the ministry, in the exercise whereof he was
 1692. zealous and diligent, travelling much abroad
 He becomes for the edifying of friends, and encreasing
 a minister their number, being made instrumental to con-
 among vince many others in various places and nations.
 them, His first prospect as to going abroad to exercise
 and travels his gift was to Scotland, but many difficulties
 into Scot- presented themselves in his way; his own ina-
 land, bility, the care of his family, his service in his
 own meeting, were pleas which he would wil-
 lingly have advanced to have gotten himself ex-
 cused from this service, but found he could not
 keep that peace of mind, which he had through
 faithfulness measurably obtained, and which was
 now of more value with him than all the com-
 forts and conveniencies of life, without being
 faithful to manifested duty in this prospect;
 wherefore, after visiting his friends in some neigh-
 bouring meetings in Essex and Suffolk, he gave
 up all in obedience to the divine requirings,
 and arrived in Scotland in the ninth month,
 1659, where travelling through various parts of
 that nation that winter on foot, his labour was
 not in vain in the Lord, several being convinced
 thereby. About mid-winter he returned to
 England by the western road, through West-
 moreland and Lancashire, &c. as he had made
 his way from home through Lincolnshire and
 Yorkshire, and arrived safe at his own habitation
 in much thankfulness to that divine power,
 whose presence had attended him, and whose
 providential arm had preserved and restored him
 in peace and safety to his beloved wife and chil-
 dren, after an absence of five or six months.

He

He divided his future time between his out-ward occupation and the requisite care of his family, and the filling up his service in the cause of religion, as he felt the impulse of duty. His succeeding travels for propagating gospel truths were frequent through the greatest part of his life. He visited the northern and western counties, and other parts of England, several times over; but the care of the churches which had been gathered principally by the ministry of William Caton and William Ames in Holland and Germany (now these labourers who had lived amongst them for some time, were removed by death) fell most weightily upon him. He crossed the German ocean no less than thirteen times, on religious visits to these countries, which the friends of these parts esteemed a favour of divine providence, that just about the juncture of time in which they were deprived of the services of the aforesaid ministers, Stephen Crisp, under the impulse of love and duty, should be drawn to visit them, to exercise his religious care over and his ministry amongst them. In the discharge hereof his diligence and his attention to all their concerns were remarkably conspicuous, not only in his public ministry, but in his visits to private families and particular persons he was very zealously engaged to impart counsel and instruction, as occasion required. And not only in word and doctrine were his labours exerted, but he frequently employed his pen for the spreading of the principles of truth, in the defence thereof against opposers, and for the refuting of the misrepresentations and calumnies raised against it. His doctrine at first was expounded by an interpreter,

CHAP.

VII.

1692.

He visits several parts of England,

but Holland becomes the principal field of his gospel labours abroad.

CHAPTER, but afterwards he attained a knowledge of
 VII. the Low Dutch language, whereby he was qua-
 1692. lified to preach to them in their own tongue.
 In fine, amongst them he exercised the office of
 a bishop without the title, according to the apostle's instruction to Timothy, 2 Epist. iv. 2.
 "Preach the word, be instant in season, out of
 "season, reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long
 "suffering and doctrine."

And as he was so eminent for his usefulness in this society, it is not to be expected he could escape the persecution, to which all his friends were exposed in the age wherein he lived. After his return from Scotland he staid but a short time at home till his apprehension of duty drew him to visit the city of London, and from thence to proceed to the north of England, where his labours were conducive to the converting of several people from darkness to light; and while he was prosperously engaged in his service the fifth-monarchy-men made their insurrection, in consequence whereof a general imprisonment of the members of this society ensued. Stephen Crisp at this time was travelling in the county of Durham, and being at a meeting at Simon Townsend's in Norton, was taken thence by Captain Bellasise with a party of soldiers, with six other friends, and cast into prison (nigh two hundred miles from home) as were many others, to the number of one hundred; some taken from their work in the fields, others from inns on their travels. Here he was detained in prison till released by the king's proclamation the next year, 1661. In the same year

His imprisonment.

CHAP.

VII.

1692.

year he was apprehended at a meeting at Harwich, and by a justice of peace there, who had ordered his mittimus to be written before his examination, committed to prison. In the year 1663 a grievous persecution of this people broke out at Colchester^b, where William Moore, mayor, exerted the utmost of his authority to oppress them, and on the 25th of October forcibly broke up the meeting, and committed Stephen Crisp and John Pike to prison; but how long he was detained in these two last imprisonments I have no account. In the beginning of the year 1670 he was again imprisoned at Ipswich in Suffolk, at the instigation of a priest, who had contrived to get him imprisoned about two years before; he was now committed on the act of the 14th of Charles II. which enacts for the first offence a fine not exceeding 5*l*. or else imprisonment, not exceeding three months. Upon his trial at the assizes, the judge, R. Rainford, suffered his passion to get the better of his recollection so far as to condemn him in the penalty of 5*l*. and imprisonment till he should pay the same; but afterwards recognizing his error, he sent an order for his release at the expiration of three months. In the latter part of the same year a new act against conventicles coming in force, Stephen Crisp was again taken by soldiers from the meeting at Horslydown, Southwark, and fined 20*l*. for preaching there.

In the latter years of his life, being much afflicted by the stone, he was disabled from travelling, as heretofore; but still devoted to the service of truth, and the cause thereof, and promoting

Is much afflicted with the stone.

^b See Vol. II. p. 22.

CHAP. moting the prosperity of friends therein, he
 VII. divided his time pretty much between his native
 place and the city of London, as the place
 where he could be most extensively serviceable.

1692.
 His charac-
 ter.

He was very diligent and exemplary in attending meetings, in preaching the gospel, in provoking to love and good works, in joining friends in the city in their solicitations to government; circumspect in conversation, and in every practice and every virtue, whereby he might promote the peace and prosperity of his brethren, and edify them in love to God and one unto another. In the exercise of his ministry he was ready and clear in expression, agreeable in his manner of delivery, and preaching the heartfelt truths of his own experience, he reached and affected the hearts of his auditory with convincing evidence of the weight and truth of his doctrine. The meetings which he attended were frequently crowded by a resort of people of other professions, both at home and in his foreign travels, being esteemed by others, as well as friends, an eminent minister of the gospel.

He was also a very useful member, and well qualified for service in the discipline of the society, being a man of a good natural understanding, of acute discernment and penetration, whereby he was enabled to give sound judgment in matters under deliberation in meetings of discipline. He was not only charitably engaged in a religious care over the members of the society for their preservation from evil and encouragement in well-doing, but actively assistant to his friends and others, especially widows and orphans, by advice and otherwise, in the management

nagement of their outward affairs, for which he had a capacity beyond many.

C H A P. VII.

Having thus spent a life here of devotion to the service of God and man, he was well prepared for his translation to a better. His disorder gathering strength, he suffered great bodily pain, which he bore with exemplary patience to the last. George Whitehead visiting him about four days before his decease, he said, *I see an end of mortality, but cannot come at it. I desire the Lord to deliver me out of this troublesome and painful body: yet there is no cloud in my way; I have full assurance of my peace with God in Christ Jesus, my integrity and uprightness of heart is known to the Lord, and I have peace and justification in Christ Jesus, who made me so [upright in the sight of God.]* To another he said, *I have fought the good fight of faith, and have run my course, and am waiting for the crown of life that is laid up for me.* And to another, *Serve the truth for the simple truth's sake, and it will preserve thee as it hath done me.* He desired his dear love in Christ Jesus to be remembered to all his friends, and on the 28th day of the 9th month, 1692, he departed this life at Wandsworth in Surry near London, in the 64th year of his age. His body was removed to the meeting-house in Grace-Church-street, London, and from thence accompanied by many friends and others to friends' burying ground at Bunhill fields. Several lively testimonies were borne to the power of that truth, whereby he had been made honourable through life, and rendered happy at his close.

1692.
His last illness, and expressions therein.

CHAP.

VII.

1693.

This society
apply to
parliament
for an act,
to accept
their solemn
affirmation
instead of
an oath.

The people called Quakers, who were still subject to many great injuries and inconveniences by reason of their conscientious scruple to take an oath, were encouraged by the apparently more liberal and moderate temper of the times, in consequence of the late revolution, to apply by petition to the parliament for relief in this case, praying that a bill might be enacted, by which their solemn affirmation or negation might be admitted instead of a formal oath. The petition was read and referred to a committee, who reported, *Upon the whole, it is the opinion of this committee, that the Quakers ought to be relieved according to the prayer of their petition.*

But inveterate prejudices were yet too strong, and the accustomed propensity to persecution, too prevalent with many of the members of the parliament, to yield them the desired relief. The opponents of the bill found means to retard its progress, and to prevent it from passing this session. Friends renewed their application the succeeding year, and having drawn up a state of their case in respect to oaths, signed in their behalf by Theodore Ecclestone, they presented it to the members of parliament, being as followeth :

“ A brief

“ A brief representation of the Quakers case C H A P.
 “ of not swearing; and why they might VII.
 “ have been, and yet may be relieved there-
 “ in, by parliament. 1694.

“ 'Tis a certain truth, that among Christians, Thereupon
 “ and Protestants especially, there are divers T Ecclesi-
 “ particular things about religion, conscienti- tone, in
 “ ously scrupled by some as unlawful, that others their behalf,
 “ esteem orthodox: and therefore it is not to gives the
 “ be wondered, that the Quakers differ from members of
 “ many others (though not from all) in this parliament
 “ case of oaths; they believing they are abso- a represen-
 “ lutely forbid to swear in any case, by that tation of
 “ positive command of Christ, *Matth. v. 34.* their case.
 “ and the earnest exhortation of his apostle,
 “ *James v. 12.* And that this is undeniably
 “ their Christian persuasion, is evidenced by
 “ their sufferings these many years for not
 “ swearing.

“ And therefore their case may be worth the
 “ charitable notice of the government, by law
 “ to relieve them therein; and not for their re-
 “ ligious persuasion, to continue them and their
 “ families exposed to ruin, who among their
 “ neighbours cheerfully pay to the support of
 “ the government, and by their trades and in-
 “ dustry (according to their capacities) advance
 “ the national stock.

“ It may therefore be humbly offered, that it
 “ is not the interest of the government to refuse
 “ them relief.

“ Their industry in trade, both at sea and
 “ land, bringing profit to the government, as
 “ well as others; the station they stand in, as
 “ merchants, farmers, manufactors, improvers

CHAP. “ of lands and stocks, is advantageous to their
 VII. “ neighbours as truly as others. And as it seems
 1694. “ not the interest of the government in general,
 “ that they should be any ways discouraged in
 “ honest industry, so neither is it the interest
 “ of an eminent part of the government, that
 “ they should not be relieved, viz. the judges.
 “ For the frequent suits that are brought
 “ against the Quakers, before the Chancery and
 “ Exchequer judges, are no doubt very trou-
 “ blefome and burthensome, by the difficulty of
 “ getting at a just issue, for want of swearing;
 “ whereby justice is delayed, and their causes
 “ often held very long; and no doubt when
 “ just judges see the Quakers wronged and
 “ abused, and cannot relieve them, it is irksome
 “ to them: so that it is humbly conceived, it
 “ would be a great ease to those courts, to have
 “ the Quakers relieved in this case of oaths.
 “ Neither is it without advantage to the
 “ king’s other courts, to be able to use the
 “ evidence of one who is now a Quaker, that
 “ perhaps was not so some years ago; when
 “ he was a witness to a bill, bond, book-debt,
 “ or deed of indenture; or when he was
 “ steward or trustee, or servant, either to per-
 “ sons of quality, or to others of trade, or
 “ estate.
 “ Nor may their testimony be unuseful to
 “ coroners, in case of unnatural deaths; nor
 “ inconvenient in cases of trespass or felony,
 “ &c.
 “ And it is farther proposed, that it is not the
 “ interest of the subject to continue them un-
 “ relieved: for it is not the interest of those
 “ the Quakers are indebted to; because, though
 “ such

“ such may sue and harass the Quakers in
 “ person and estate, yet they may long want a
 “ decision of their debt or claim, as to the right
 “ of it, for want of an answer upon oath.

C H A P.
 VII.
 1694.

“ It is not the interest of those they are concerned with, in any doubtful case, because of the difficulty to come to trial.

“ And for those that owe money to the Quakers, to be allowed to fly into Chancery for a refuge, to obstruct paying just debts, is such an injury, as it is hoped no one that is rational will countenance, or desire should be continued upon them. And may it not then be asserted, that it is no honest man's true and just interest, (to have the Quakers denied relief) no not the gown-men of Westminster-hall, whose few fees from the Quakers, as plaintiffs, might suggest (though unduly) that they have no long-tailed debts to sue for, nor titles to recover; but if they so suppose, it is a mistake, for it is rather their despair of relief, and their well-known inability to pursue a cause, that is their common determination to begin.

“ So that of all causes that crowd those courts, few are brought by the Quakers, though they may need it as much as others, to the great loss of the learned in the law, as well as the poor injured Quaker.

“ And one might think, it were great pity an industrious people should be kept liable to all injurious suits, and so much barred from suing for their rights, be their cause ever so reasonable, just or necessary.

“ Seeing their relief is to them so needful, so harmless to all, and so useful to the government,

CHAP. “ ment, and their neighbours; let us a little
 VII. “ consider the common objections, which may
 { “ be summed up in short thus :
 1694.

“ First objection, *How shall we then be at a
 “ certainty?*

“ Secondly, *Why should the laws be altered for
 “ them? For,*

“ Thirdly, *It would be to rase old founda-
 “ tions :*

“ Fourthly, *And let them into the govern-
 “ ment.*

“ Which it is hoped will not be difficult to
 “ answer one by one, and that to reasonable sa-
 “ tisfaction.

“ And to the first, viz. *The doubt of certainty.*
 “ It may be rationally affirmed, that whosoever
 “ is bound to tell the truth, (especially against
 “ men’s own interest, where the temptation, if
 “ any, mainly lies) such are either so bound by
 “ the law of God, or the laws of men, or
 “ both.

“ Now the obligations by the law of God
 “ are binding on good men, whether they give
 “ answers on oath, or on their solemn affirma-
 “ tion in the fear of God; and knaves are only
 “ bound by the penal laws of men; which if
 “ made equally severe, to those that give falla-
 “ cious answers, as well without oath as by oath,
 “ would be equally effectual and binding, both
 “ to them that give answers without swearing,
 “ and to them that swear.

“ The

“ The second objection, *that it would be an* C H A P.
VII.
 “ *alteration of the law*; not of the substance of
 “ the law, but of a circumstance; and if that
 “ hath no detriment in it, but that the altera-
 “ tion be really an amendment, and a conve-
 “ niency to an honest, industrious people, pray
 “ why should it not be done? what sessions of
 “ parliament is there that passes, but some law
 “ or other is made for the ease, security, or
 “ relief of the subject?

1694.

“ If foreigners are too hard for our sea-faring
 “ people, out goes an act of navigation to pre-
 “ vent it.

“ If our poor at home want silk to work with,
 “ how soon is it granted, (notwithstanding the
 “ same act) to come over land, and not directly
 “ in shipping from the places of its produce, as
 “ the said act before did enjoin: and shall the
 “ ease of trade be so soon granted against a
 “ positive statute; and the ease of conscience be
 “ so long denied in this, as positive a command
 “ of Christ, at least really so believed and ac-
 “ cepted?

“ And for the third objection, *that it is to*
 “ *raise old foundations*. Answer, *No*, as it was
 “ said, it is rather to mend them; a proper
 “ work for parliaments.

“ Did not parliaments abrogate Popery, with
 “ all its claim of antiquity? did not a parlia-
 “ ment make the act of *Habeas Corpus* against
 “ the claim of prerogative? and was it more
 “ reasonable to secure the subject from perpe-
 “ tual imprisonment by a king without trial,
 “ than it is to secure one subject from impri-
 “ soning another till death, for not giving an
 “ answer in Chancery or Exchequer upon oath?

“ does

CHAP. “ does it belong to parliaments to secure other
 VII. “ subjects in their estates, liberties, and proper-
 ties? and is it unparliamentary to secure the
 1694. “ Quakers from sequestrations against their whole
 “ estates? because they dare not comply to a
 “ circumstance of the law; when as they un-
 “ derstand it) it is against an express command
 “ of Christ? surely no: and therefore their re-
 “ lief in parliament is a fitting case to be there
 “ tenderly taken notice of, and provided for.

“ May it not then be well worth the while
 “ for this present parliament to relieve these
 “ distressed people, and afford their suffering
 “ case redress? that thereby their causes may
 “ the sooner come to an issue, whether they
 “ sue for just debts, or are sued, whereby many
 “ unjust and vexatious suits; by injurious and
 “ litigious persons, may be prevented, which
 “ have often tended rather to the Quakers’ ruin,
 “ and others damage, than recovery of their
 “ right.

“ As to the fourth objection, *That it will tend*
 “ *to let them into their government:* For answer
 “ thereto, bar that as hard as you please; only
 “ do not let the supposal of that, from which
 “ so easily and so willingly they may be ex-
 “ cluded, be a hindrance to that ease and be-
 “ nefit the government may so easily afford
 “ them.

“ But now while you have opportunity by
 “ the station Providence hath placed you in,
 “ pray be you of such noble, generous spirits,
 “ as to relieve them, though they differ from
 “ you in the construction of a text they esteem
 “ plain and positive on their side, and from
 “ which they dare not swerve, having therein
 “ the

“ the concurrence of many ancient fathers, and CHAP. VII.
 “ martyrs, and since them the Menists, and
 “ of late Francis Osbourne, Esq; in his Political
 “ Reflections, 7th edition, p. 319, who treat- 1694.
 “ ing of judicial cases, calls *not swearing* a Chrysoftom,
 “ yielding a sincere and faithful obedience to &c. Swin-
 “ the precept of our Saviour, *swear not at all*, derby's ap-
 “ which (says he) the corrupt glosses of exposi- peal to the
 “ tors labour much, though all in vain, to king.
 “ elude. Walter
 “ And Swinderby in his appeal to the king, Brate's de-
 “ complaining of the errors of the Papists, says claration.
 “ thus, *As Christ forbids swearing, so* (says he) Acts and
 “ *the Pope justifieth swearing, and compels men to monuments,*
 “ *swear.* vol. i. 570,
 “ new edition.
 “ *the Pope justifieth swearing, and compels men to* Young's
 “ *swear.* first exam.
 “ fol. 910, old
 “ edition, with
 “ abundance
 “ of others.

“ Which no man can rationally say, is only
 “ spoken of swearing in communication, for his
 “ complaint is against justifying swearing, and
 “ compelling men to swear, which cannot be
 “ pretended to mean other than solemn swear-
 “ ing; for no age, that we read of, did ever
 “ authorize profane swearing, much less compel
 “ to it.

“ Since therefore not only profane swearing,
 “ but also solemn swearing, was early complained
 “ of by Protestants, let it not seem strange to
 “ any, that the Quakers now scruple swearing,
 “ and for ease therein have often sought relief in
 “ parliament, the proper place.

“ Seeing then they believe, they have the au-
 “ thority of Christ's command, and the apostle's
 “ exhortation, and the martyrs doctrine on their
 “ side; though divers of you are not so per-
 “ suaded.

“ Yet let the world behold your justice and
 “ willingness (according to your power) to do
 “ good

CHAP. " good to all the honest and industrious people,
 VII. " you both represent and govern: by enacting,
 " *That their solemn affirmation shall be accepted in*
 1694. " *lieu of an oath; and all, that falsify therein,*
 " *shall be punished equally with perjured persons.*

" It having been made appear to a committee
 " of this parliament, [Dec. 2, 1692] that they
 " are exposed to great hardships, as aforesaid,
 " and not themselves only, but others also;
 " (which was the case of a member or two of
 " this present parliament.)

" So that upon the whole matter, the said
 " committee were of opinion, and did report it
 " to the house, THAT THE QUAKERS OUGHT
 " TO BE RELIEVED ACCORDING TO THE PRAYER
 " OF THEIR PETITION, (then newly presented
 " to the house.)

" Wherefore, as liberty hath been given them
 " to declare their alliance to the government
 " without swearing, for which ease they are
 " sincerely thankful; so be pleased to add to
 " that kindness their relief in the matter of
 " oaths, between them and other subjects, as
 " well as between the government and them.

" Signed in behalf of the said people,

" THEODORE ECCLESTONE.

" London, Dec. 22, 1694."

After the perusal of this case, several of the
 members of parliament discovered a more friend-
 ly regard to the people and their petition; yet
 the house came to no resolution in favour of
 their request. In the following year, 1695,
 they

they renewed their application with better success. C H A P.
VII.

This year Queen Mary was taken off by the small pox ; she was a woman not more eminent for her elevated rank in life, than for her personal embellishments, intellectual endowments and virtuous dispositions. In her sickness undaunted, she awaited her change with a perfect resignation to the Divine Will, and continued in that Christian resigned temper to the last. As she had merited the general respect, her death was generally lamented by all ranks of the people, but most of all by the King, who was most intimately acquainted with her worth, and so sensibly affected with his loss, that he could neither see company, nor attend to the affairs of state for some weeks after.

1694.
Death of
Queen
Mary.

Upon the death of Queen Mary, the zealous partisans of the late King James, on the supposition that the interest of William was considerably weakened by her removal, renewed their efforts for his restoration, both by an application to the French King, to enable James to make a descent upon England, and also by a plot at home to assassinate King William, which designs, being timely discovered, were defeated.

First, the two houses of parliament entered into an association to defend King William's life and government ; and in case he should come to a violent death, to revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. And as this association was subscribed by people of all ranks, the people called Quakers, whose conscientious principle against taking up arms prevented their subscribing, thought it expedient to manifest their loyalty and fidelity to the King, by drawing

CHAP. ing up and publishing the following declaration:
 VII.

1695.

“ The ancient testimony and principle of the
 “ people called Quakers, renewed with respect
 “ to the King and government, and touching
 “ the present association.

“ We the said people do solemnly and sincerely declare, that it hath been our judgment and principle from the first day we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up and putting down kings and governments is God’s peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not our work or business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busybodies in matters above our station, much less to plot or contrive the ruin or overturn of any of them; but to pray for the king, and for the safety of our nation, and good of all men, that we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over us.

“ And according to this our ancient and innocent principle, we often have given forth our testimony, and now do, against all plotting, conspiracies, and contriving insurrections against the king or the government, and against all treacherous, barbarous and murderous designs whatsoever, as works of the Devil and darkness; and we sincerely bless God, and are heartily thankful to the king and government for the liberty and privileges
 “ we

“ we enjoy under them by law, esteeming it
 “ our duty to be true and faithful to them. C H A P.
VII.

“ And whereas we the said people are re-
 “ quired to sign the said association, we sincerely
 “ declare, that our refusing so to do, is not
 “ out of any dissatisfaction to the king nor go-
 “ vernment, nor in opposition to his being
 “ declared rightful and lawful king of these
 “ realms, but purely because we cannot for
 “ conscience sake fight, kill or revenge, either
 “ for ourselves or any man else. 1696.

“ And we believe that the timely discovery
 “ and prevention of the late barbarous design
 “ and mischievous plot against the king and
 “ government, and the sad effects it might have
 “ had, is an eminent mercy from Almighty
 “ God, for which we and the whole nation
 “ have great cause to be humbly thankful to
 “ him, and to pray for the continuance of his
 “ mercies to them and us.

“ From a meeting of the said people in
 “ London the 23d of the first month
 “ called March, 1695-6.”

C H A P. VIII.

The Case of George Keith brought before the Yearly Meeting.—The Judgment and Advice of the Yearly Meeting thereupon.—George Keith's Endeavours to make a Party in England frustrated.—Thomas Ellwood writes an Epistle of Caution to Friends, against which George Keith complains.—The Yearly Meeting of London disowns him.—He sets up a separate Meeting at Turner's-Hall.—Summons Friends to a Meeting there.—Which they think improper to comply with.—Their Reasons.—He publisheth his Account of the Meeting—Which is answered by Thomas Ellwood.—An anonymous Publication, entitled “The Snake in the Grass.”—Answered by George Whitehead and Joseph Wyeth.

C H A P. **G**EORGE KEITH having arrived in Eng-
 VIII. land in the spring of 1694, attended the ensuing
 1694. yearly meeting of London; and a full account
 of the trouble he had given friends in America
 being sent over in an epistle from the yearly
 meeting of Philadelphia, specifying very particu-
 larly all his contentious proceedings there, the
 grounds of their disowning him, after repeated
 labours to bring him to a better way of think-
 ing and acting proved ineffectual, and his and
 his partisans' setting up a separate meeting,
 whereby this difference coming regularly before
 the meeting, the epistle being in course read
 therein, George Keith desired to be heard, and

The case of
 Geo. Keith
 brought be-
 fore the
 yearly
 meeting.

it

it was agreed to enter upon hearing and enquiring into the cause of difference between him and friends of Pennsylvania, after the other business of the meeting was over. Then they patiently spent near ten days in reading books and papers relating thereto, and hearing George Keith and his party on one side, and Samuel Jennings and Thomas Duckett on the other, with Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, just returned from their travels in America. They used earnest endeavours to reconcile the difference, and prevailed upon George Keith with his party to return into unity and amity with their friends; but Keith seeming predetermined either for carrying every thing his own way, or for a separation, eluded all endeavours for reconciliation and peace. The more tender reasoning and earnest entreaty was extended towards him, the more perverseness he discovered in turning it to a wrong end, and strengthening himself in contention and opposition.

The yearly meeting having fully heard and considered the circumstances of the difference, at last came to this judgment, *That the separation lay at George Keith's door, and that he had done ill in printing and publishing those differences as he had done*; and therefore the advice of the meeting to him thereupon was, *to call in those books of his, or publish something innocently and effectually to clear the body of the people called Quakers, and their ministers, from these gross errors charged on some few in America, and retract the bitter language in them, so far as he was concerned, and sincerely to use his utmost endeavours* with

The judgment and advice of the yearly meeting thereupon.

CHAP. VIII. *with his friends to remove the separation.* Which judgment and advice being drawn up in writing, was in the meeting delivered to him, and soon after printed by one of his party, with very invidious reflections upon it, in a small pamphlet, entitled *A true Account, &c.* Thus, instead of taking the advice of the yearly meeting, he persisted in his opposition, and his endeavours to cause a rent in the society, and form a party to himself; but his behaviour was so exceeding rude and passionate, that the weakest could not but discern, he was actuated by an intemperate spirit, which frustrated his views of forming a party in opposition to the body of friends here, as he had done in America; for he could gain few adherents, except some of the former separatists about London, who yet soon grew dissatisfied with him, and left him.

George Keith's endeavours to make a party in England frustrated.

In Pennsylvania having (as we have seen) secured the principal printing-press under his own direction and control, he could publish his calumnies, and justify his own cause without fear of reply or reproof; but in England the case was altered; for here were sundry members of the community, who wanted neither the capacity nor opportunity of following him from the press, clearly to answer all his cavils, and confute his calumnies. George Whitehead, Thomas Ellwood and Benjamin Coole exercised their pens for these purposes.

Thomas Ellwood writes an epistle of caution to friends.

Thomas Ellwood in particular, observing the pernicious tendency of his procedure, in the first place wrote an excellent epistle to friends, briefly commemorating the mercies of the Almighty, and warning them *to beware of that spirit of contention and division which had appeared* of


of late in George Keith. Which epistle when CHAP. finished he submitted to the second day's morn- VIII.
ing meeting, by which it was fully approved in
a full meeting, and he left at liberty to publish
it. And yet George Keith pretended it was
printed in great difunity, and against the mind
of many friends, insinuating that it was pro-
moted only by a party; an evidence of his dis-
position to divide the society into parties, and to
hesitate at nothing that might forward his
views. 1694.

Against this piece of Thomas Ellwood's, against which Geo. Keith complains.
George Keith made a heavy complaint to friends,
and wanted it to be called in, as highly inju-
rious to him. That it might be injurious to his
cause admits of no doubt; but himself, by his
late conduct, had made his cause distinct from,
and opposite to the cause of the society, and
could have no reasonable grounds to expect they
should so far counteract their own, which ap-
peared to them a good one, to strengthen his,
which they saw in a very different light. There-
fore his complaint and clamour were disregarded
by friends, who saw no reason to stifle a
piece coinciding with their own sentiments,
and which on that account they had approved;
to gratify the unreasonable demand of a man,
who was at the same time contemning their ad-
vice to him. He would call in none of his petu-
lant productions, nor retract his unjust represen-
tations, at their desire; but went on printing
and publishing his own partial accounts of all
transactions between them, insinuating that the
advice he had received was not the advice of
the *yearly meeting*, nor that the yearly meeting
which gave it, still aiming to represent them di-
vided

CHAP. VIII. vided into parties. The succeeding yearly meeting observing this, treated further with him upon this disingenuous representation, renewed their endeavours to make him sensible of the wrong he had done them and himself, in order to bring him to a temper of mind to perceive and acknowledge it; but the more cordial endeavours they used, the more obstinate and positive he grew in his opposition, and in his justification of his own cause. After hearing him patiently till he withdrew of his own accord, the yearly meeting at large, to take away all grounds of again representing it as the work of a party, drew up the following testimony:

1695.
The yearly meeting after treating tenderly with Geo. Keith in vain, testify their disunity with him.

“ That the said George Keith hath of late
 “ been, and yet is, actuated by an unchristian
 “ spirit, which hath moved and led him to stir
 “ up contention and strife in the church of
 “ Christ, and to cause divisions, separations and
 “ breaches among them that profess the truth;
 “ and that the tendency of divers of his late
 “ writings and actings hath been to expose the
 “ truth and the friends thereof to the reproach
 “ of the world, did unanimously agree, and declare it to be the sense and judgment of this
 “ meeting; and it is the sense and judgment of
 “ this meeting, that the said George Keith is
 “ gone from the blessed unity of the peaceable
 “ spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hath
 “ thereby separated himself from the holy fellowship of the church of Christ; and that
 “ whilst he is in an unreconciled and uncharitable state, he ought not to preach or pray
 “ in any of friends meetings, nor to be owned
 “ or received as one of us, until by a public
 “ and hearty acknowledgment of the great offence

“ fence he has given, and hurt he hath done, CHAP.
 “ and condemnation of himself therefore, he VIII.
 “ gives proof of his unfeigned repentance, and 
 “ does his endeavour to remove and take off 1695.
 “ the reproach, he hath brought upon truth and
 “ friends, which is the love of God we heartily
 “ desire for his soul’s sake.”

He now set up a separate meeting at a place Geo. Keith
sets up a
separate
meeting at
Turner’s-
hall. called Turner’s-hall. The novelty excited the
 curiosity of the people, and at first attracted a
 crowded audience, mostly of such as were of
 unfriendly dispositions to the people called Qua-
 kers. At the same time he proceeded to write
 against them, but was so closely answered and
 pinched by quotations from his former writings,
 being unable to reply to purpose, or with any
 degree of consistency, that under pretence of
 inability to bear the expence of printing, he
 shifted his ground, and set up a kind of judicial
 court by his own authority, on a day of his own
 appointing, at Turner’s-hall aforesaid; giving
 notice by public advertisement, that he intended Summons
friends to a
meeting
there, in the 4th month to hold a meeting at Turner’s-
 hall, for the purpose of pointing out the errors
 of the Quakers, and summoned sundry of them
 by name, and others in general, to attend and
 answer for themselves. But the friends looking which they
do not think
proper to
comply
with. upon his assumed authority as an imposition, did
 not think proper to take notice of his challenge:
 Yet lest any, who might attend upon the occasion
 might mistake the cause of their not appearing,
 as proceeding from consciousness of inability to
 make a proper defence, they drew up the fol-
 lowing reasons for absenting themselves, and
 sent them to be read there.

C H A P.

VIII.



1695.

Their rea-
sons for
declining
the meet-
ing.

“ WHEREAS George Keith hath, after his
“ wonted irregular and unruly manner, chal-
“ langed divers of us to defend ourselves against
“ such charges as he has to exhibit against us
“ at Turner’s-hall : These are to certify to all
“ whom it may concern, that the reasons why
“ we decline any such meeting are as follow :

“ First. Because the said George Keith has
“ given us such frequent proofs of his very pas-
“ sionate and abusive behaviour, at the many
“ more select meetings we have had with him,
“ in all manner of sweetness, long-suffering and
“ patience on our side, to satisfy and preserve
“ him from these extremes : That we cannot as-
“ sure ourselves now of any better entertain-
“ ment, or that the meeting can have any de-
“ sirable success, for a thorough information.

“ Secondly. We decline to meet, because it
“ is not an agreed meeting on both sides, which
“ it ought to have been, and where that is not,
“ or cannot be adjusted, the press is the next
“ fair way and expedient; which he has begun
“ with, and now seems to decline ; nor hath he
“ sent us a copy of his charge or indictment
“ against us, which also he ought to have
“ done.

“ Thirdly. That he has two of our books
“ which lie hard at his door, in vindication of
“ us and our doctrines from his exceptions, and
“ which he has not yet answered ; so that he is
“ not upon equal terms with us ; and therefore
“ we think his challenge, appointment and sum-
“ mons unfair ; and that all that are not partial
“ will be of the same mind with us.

“ Fourthly. Such public and unlimited meet-
ings, are too often attended with heats, levity
“ and

“ and confusion, and answer not the end desired CHAP.
 “ by sober and enquiring men. Besides, that it VIII.
 “ sets up a practice, that authority may judge to
 “ be an abuse of our liberty, and so draw that
 “ under reflection, as no friend to the civil
 “ peace. 1695.

“ Fifthly. We know not what religion or
 “ persuasion this wavering man is of, or what
 “ church or people he adheres to, or will re-
 “ ceive him, with his vain speculations, that
 “ have led him to desert us ; nor who are ac-
 “ countable to us for him, and his irregularities
 “ and abuses ; the generality of such assemblies
 “ usually making ill auditors, worse judges, and
 “ no good security for our satisfaction. And
 “ we must therefore take leave to say, it seems
 “ to us an indirect way of disquieting and in-
 “ vading our present liberty, that so irreligious
 “ a meeting should be held, whose end is to
 “ abuse other men for their religion. If this
 “ should be imitated by all the several sorts of
 “ different persuasions in this city, what heats
 “ and confusions must necessarily ensue !

“ Sixthly and lastly. Wherefore be it known
 “ unto all, that for the sake of religion, the
 “ liberty granted us, and the civil peace, we
 “ decline to meet him ; and not from any ap-
 “ prehensions we have of his abilities, or our
 “ own consciousness of error, or injustice to the
 “ said George Keith, whose weak and unbridled
 “ temper we know is such, that what learning
 “ and parts he hath, have not been able to ba-
 “ lance and support him on less occasions, so
 “ that we may say they are in ill hands ; and if
 “ he proceeds as he begins, they will be em-
 “ ployed to an ill end, which his (poor man !)
 “ cannot

CHAP. " cannot but be, unless he change his course ;
 VIII. " which we heartily pray for, that a place of
 ~~~~~ " repentance he may find ; and through a true  
 1695. " contrition, the remission of his great sin of  
 " envy, and in evilly treating the Lord's people  
 " and way, which we profess, and which he the  
 " said George Keith hath long and lately both  
 " professed and zealously vindicated as such."

He publishes his account of the meeting, which is answered by Tho. Ellwood.

George Keith soon afterwards published his narrative of the proceedings at this meeting of his own appointment, with the usual prejudice of party animosity, which was answered by T. Ellwood in a piece, entitled *An Answer to George Keith's Narrative of his Proceedings at Turner's-hall, wherein his Charges against divers of the People called Quakers are fairly considered, examined and refuted*. In which he made his title good in a clear and entire refutation of his cavils against friends' books, manifesting his disingenuous perversions of their sense to answer his own partial purposes, by unfair or false quotations, by partial selection of passages curtailed and mutilated ; and by putting his own constructions upon them, to wrest from them a meaning never thought of by the writer, in order to render them unsound or contemptible ; against which Thomas Ellwood defended the soundness of their doctrine, shewing George Keith's inconsistency and self-contradiction in condemning opinions, which he had publicly vindicated as orthodox on various occasions for a series of near thirty years ; and pretending to hold the same doctrines and principles still, and detecting his deceit and prevarication so plainly and effectually, that George Keith never replied to it.

He

CHAP.

VIII.

1695.

He seems to have at last grown tired of a controversy, in which, while he made loud clamours of the vile errors held by the Quakers, he found his own unretracted doctrines compared with theirs were the same or of the same import, and that no palliatives could screen him from the detection of his palpable inconsistency, he therefore declined any further appearing in print against Thomas Ellwood in his own name: But either by his procurement, or from the spontaneous effusion of a similar disposition in himself, he met with a confederate equal in malice, against whom the advantage of quoting his own writings would not lie. This author, in an anonymous book, under the title of *The Snake in the Grass*, proceeded in the line, George Keith had chalked out, but not being under the like restraint, outwent him, or most that went before him, in virulent reflections, raking every kennel for dirt to throw at the people called Quakers. This piece was published without a name, but was afterwards found to be the work of one Lesly, an highflying nonjuring parson, to whom of course the name of a dissenter was odious, and his spleen not satiated with hating them himself, he exerted the talents he was master of to render them odious to the world; but this most bitter, illiberal and unjust production must, with all impartial and judicious readers, have fixed a deeper stain on the author's reputation, than on the people he vilified.

An anonymous publication, entitled *The Snake in the Grass*.

As he listed himself a volunteer in George Keith's cause, it afforded ground for a suspicion that George Keith was not unconcerned in promoting the work, if not a co-adjutor therein, for being now rejected and disowned by the people called

CHAP. called Quakers, and frustrated in his endeavours  
 VIII. to draw a party to himself from among them here,  
 ~~~~~ or attach any considerable number of others to  
 1695. himself as a leader, he began now to ingratiate
 himself with some of the ecclesiastics of the
 church of England, who were inclined to coun-
 tenance him for his opposition to the Quakers
 (so called). The author of the Snake, in his pre-
 face, plainly implying that it was in George
 Keith's cause he took up his pen, and in reply
 to Thomas Ellwood's examination of his narra-
 tive, by saying it was not meant as a defence of
 George Keith, any further than he defended the
 truth of the christian faith, for which reason,
 says he, *I have wholly omitted all the reflections
 cast upon him, and the contradictions which Thomas
 Ellwood pretends to find in his former books (while
 he was a Quaker in their communion) to the doc-
 trine he now sets up in opposition to them.* Thomas
 Ellwood, not without probability, conjectured
 that this book was published by the procurement
 of George Keith, who had himself for a long
 series of years maintained for truth those doc-
 trines and practices which he would now repre-
 sent as errors in the Quakers, and was pinched
 in the controversy by quotations of Keith against
 Keith; that this anonymous publication was a
 contrivance to get clear of this dilemma, in
 which he found himself entangled.

As to this envenomed performance it was
 remarked, " 1. That the matters therein
 " charged upon us, are generally the same that
 " have been charged on us heretofore, by
 " Faldo, Hicks, and other adversaries; and
 " always refuted over and over, both formerly
 " and of late.

" 2. That

“ 2. That the things they charge on us, as C H A P.
 “ errors and herefy, are not pretended to be VIII.
 “ proved by any plain exprefs positions or af-
 “ fertions of ours; but from our adverfaries 1695.
 “ own perverfe meanings, and wrested con-
 “ ftructions of our words, always denied and
 “ rejected by us.

“ 3. That the words and paffages brought
 “ by our adverfaries for proof of their charges
 “ againft us, are not taken out of our doctri-
 “ nal treatifes, or declarations of faith and
 “ principles; but (for the moft part) out of
 “ controversial books; wherein, oftentimes, the
 “ fcope and aim of the author is, not fo much
 “ to affert or exprefs his own principles or doc-
 “ trines, as to impugn and expofe his adver-
 “ faries, by fhewing the contradictions, abfur-
 “ dities, and ill confequences of his adverfaries’
 “ opinions; from whence, pofitively to con-
 “ clude the author’s own judgment, is neither
 “ fafe nor fair.

“ 4. That however any of our former ad-
 “ verfaries might have been miffed in their
 “ judgments concerning us, George Keith, who
 “ hath now moved this controverfy againft us,
 “ knows full well, that we do not hold thofe
 “ things either generally as a people, or as
 “ particular perfons, which he has charged on
 “ us as errors.”

Befides this, as George Keith had done before
 in his quotations and references to their writings,
 he ftuck at no unhandfome nor unfair means to
 represent this people in the moft ridiculous, ab-
 furd and difadvantageous light. He mutilated
 their expreffions by omitting the leading or con-
 cluding parts of a fentence, or paffing over fome
 in

CHAP. in the middle, whereby in most cases they made
 .VIII. a sense quite different from the author's intention. To this he added many stories of occurrences, which, he said, had happened among the Quakers; some of which were plainly proved to be fictitious and without foundation in fact; others greatly exaggerated, and the actions of several, who were disowned and disclaimed by them, were raked up and imputed to this body of people.

1695.
 This performance abounds in scurrility and falsehood.

Among this author's untruths this was one, that the Quakers in their schools did not suffer the children to read the holy scriptures; which was evidently returned upon him as a palpable falsehood, by a certificate of the French usher at Wandsworth, who was no Quaker; and another signed by several neighbours, persons of character and consideration, who testified that the bible was daily read in this school (which was a very large boarding school kept by Richard Scoryer, a friend) in a regular course of succession from the beginning to the end. This book, entitled the Snake in the Grass, did not pass unnoticed. The author's misrepresentations were laid open, his fabulous tales disproved, and his crafty imposture clearly manifested in suitable replies, by George Whitehead, and by Joseph Wyeth, in a book under the title of *A Switch for the Snake*.

Is answered
 by George
 Whitehead
 and Joseph
 Wyeth.

C H A P. IX.

Friends still liable to exorbitant Sufferings for Tithes.—Present a Petition to the King.—Conference with the King.—William Penn visits the Western Counties.—He appoints a Meeting at Wells, which is broken up by the Mayor's Order.—Application for an Affirmation Act.—A Committee appointed to solicit Members, and promote passing the Act.—In the House of Lords the Bishops endeavour to frustrate the Application.—Form of the first Affirmation.—Bill for recovering small Tithes and Church Rates.—Exceptions against it.

NOTWITHSTANDING the people called C H A P.
 Quakers were now exempted from suffering for IX.
 attending their religious meetings by the tolera- 1695.
 tion-act; yet the jealousy of the clergy, and
 their watchful eye over their own interests, pre- Friends still
 vented friends from obtaining any relief from liable to ex-
 their sufferings for the non-payment of tithes, orbitant
 and other ecclesiastical demands, by procuring sufferings
 an exception in the forementioned act, whereby for tithes.
 not only the original demand, but the exorbi-
 tant and oppressive methods of recovery were
 still retained: reserving not only their alleged
 dues, but the power to be vexatious in reclaim-
 ing them, a power which many of the clerical
 order exerted with rigour. For at this time
 many friends were prisoners, and others under
 severe

CHAP. severe prosecutions for non-payment of these demands, and some long detained in prison upon contempts (as they term them) because they could not from a conscientious scruple answer priests bills and complaints upon oath. Friends of the meeting for sufferings in London taking this matter into consideration, thought it expedient to draw up a state of the case, and present it to the king, which was drawn up accordingly in the following terms :

IX.

1695.

Present a
petition to
the king, in
relation
thereto.

“ To the K I N G.

“ The case and request of the peaceable people
“ commonly called Quakers, in behalf of
“ many of them, who are present sufferers
“ for conscience-sake, humbly presented,

“ Shewing,

“ That as the God of all our mercies hath
“ preserved us a peaceable and quiet people in
“ the land, according to our christian principle
“ and profession, under the various revolutions
“ of government: So we hope and resolve (by
“ his divine assistance) ever so to continue; be-
“ ing heartily thankful for the several kindnes-
“ ses and compassions received from the go-
“ vernment, especially for the present liberty we
“ now by law enjoy in point of religious wor-
“ ship. Yet forasmuch as many of said people
“ are continued under deep sufferings in their
“ persons and estates, by tedious imprisonments,
“ seizures and sequestrations; divers also of late
“ having died in prisons, and many more under
“ prosecution,

“ profecution, and liable fo to suffer in Eng-
 “ land and Wales, tending to the ruin of many
 “ families for thefe caufes of confcience, chiefly
 “ on contempts (as adjudged) for not answering
 “ upon oath in cafes of tithe, when fued in the
 “ Exchequer; and alfo for not answering upon
 “ oath when profecuted in the ecclefiastical
 “ courts for tithes, church-rates, &c. where-
 “ upon they proceed to excommunication,
 “ and by fignificavits procure writs *de excom.*
 “ *cap.* and fometimes juftices warrants to impri-
 “ fonments.

CHAP.
 IX.
 1695.

“ We therefore humbly remind the king that
 “ the great feverities and perfecutions formerly
 “ inflicted on us were fometimes abated and
 “ refpited, when it pleased God to move the
 “ hearts of kings and governments to fhew fome
 “ compaffion and favour to us:

“ 1ft, By king Charles the fecond’s proclama-
 “ tion of grace in 1661, whereby many of our
 “ friends were releafed and freed out of pri-
 “ fon.

“ 2d, By his letters patent (or pardon) in
 “ 1672, purfuant to his declaration of *indul-*
 “ *gence to tender confciences* in the fame year.

“ 3d, By an aét of parliament 25 Car. 2. ch.
 “ 5. entituled, *An aét for the king’s majefty’s*
 “ *moft gracious and general pardon*, pardoning
 “ *contempts* againft the king, whereby many alfo
 “ of the faid people were difcharged, and re-
 “ leafed out of prifons.

“ 4th, Alfo by king James the fecond many
 “ were releafed out of prifons, and relieved by
 “ divers commiffions; and two general procla-
 “ mation pardons, the one in 1685 and the
 “ other in 1688.

“ 5th,

CHAP. " 5th, And also by an act of *gracisus general*

IX. " and *free* pardon in the second year of king
 " William and queen Mary, several were dis-
 1695. " charged for contempts and imprisonments.

" 6th, And by thy late confort the queen (on
 " application made to her in thy absence) a poor
 " innocent woman, who had been long prisoner
 " at Lancaster upon a fine, was released; which
 " as an intimation of the queen's tender and
 " merciful disposition we very thankfully ac-
 " knowledge, as we do also very kindly acknow-
 " ledge the king's late favourable inclination to
 " discharge two of our friends, prisoners in
 " *Westmorland*, upon a petition presented by our
 " friend Daniel Quare.

" These precedents of royal favour and com-
 " passion to the oppressed, and the present con-
 " finements and hardships of many innocent
 " persons tenderly considered,

" We the said people humbly request that
 " the king would be pleased to extend his fa-
 " vour and compassion towards the said sufferers
 " for their lawful ease and relief from their
 " present confinements, prisons and hardships,
 " either by proclamation or otherwise, as in his
 " wisdom and clemency shall seem most meet
 " and convenient."

This case and petition was presented to the king by George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower, John Taylor and Daniel Quare; which last named person being known to the king, had ready access to him, and obtained admission to his presence for the rest; he previously enquiring *who they were, and in what stations*

stations in the society; Daniel told him, they are CHAP.
ministers and elders amongst us. IX.

The king then sent for them into a private apartment, where he was alone; he enquired of them what places they belonged to? Of what congregations they were ministers? This furnished George Whitehead with a favourable opportunity to inform him that they were not settled as ministers or pastors over any particular congregations, but visited their friends meetings, as the Lord inclined them: that they did not make a gain of their ministry, nor receive stipends or hire for preaching; but preached the gospel freely, according to Christ's command to his ministers, freely ye have received, freely give. The king made no reply, but appeared very serious, and satisfied with the answer.

With the king's approbation a copy of the petition was also delivered by George Whitehead and Gilbert Latey to the lord keeper Somers, who received it courteously, and signified his readiness to comply with their request, as far as the law would admit, assuring them that the king was really principled in favour of liberty of conscience, as he was also. And in a short time after, an act of grace was passed, whereby about forty friends in prison on the forementioned accounts were restored to liberty.

William Penn in the course of last year paid a religious visit to several of the western counties, and had meetings almost daily in the most considerable towns and other places, which were greatly crowded, and in many places were held in the town-hall, as the only place capable of containing the numbers who flocked to hear him. And in this year repeating his visit

1695.
 Conference
 with the
 king.


William
 Penn visits
 the western
 counties.

CHAP. visit to the same quarter, some of the inhabitants
 IX. of the city of Wells, from the accounts they
 1695. had of his public meetings last year in most of
 the great towns (this excepted), expressed a desire that he might appoint a meeting there also. He went thither accordingly, and John Whiting and Robert Holder went to seek a suitable place to hold it in, and also to give information thereof to the bishop, according to the prescription of the act of toleration, which appeared afterwards to be a measure of expediency; after they had got a grant of the market-house, the clerk of the market being dissuaded by some persons who were unfriendly, retracted his promise, and when they came at the time appointed refused them admittance; whereupon they concluded to hold the meeting at their inn, and took care previously to certify it also to the bishop. The meeting was held in a large room with a balcony to the street; the room was quickly filled, and there was also a great concourse in the street; so that for the conveniency of the double auditory, William Penn placed himself in the balcony, and thence preached to the people; but in the midst of his declaration he was interrupted by officers from the mayor with the following warrant:

He appoints
 a meeting
 at Wells,
 which is
 broken up
 by order of
 the mayor.

“ Wells City and } “ To all constables, ver-
 “ Borough. } “ derors, and serjeants at
 _____ “ mace of the said city.

“ Whereas William Penn and several others
 “ called Quakers, are now riotously and unlaw-
 “ fully assembled and gathered together in this
 “ city, and the said William Penn is now preach-
 “ ing

“ ing or teaching in a house not licensed ac- C H A P.
 “ cording to the late act of parliament ; these IX.
 “ are therefore to require you to take the said 
 “ William Penn, and him immediately to bring 1695.
 “ before us to answer the premises. Given un-
 “ der our hands and seals this 15th day of No-
 “ vember, 1695.

“ MATTHEW BARON, Mayor.

“ WILLIAM SALMON.”

The officers, rudely officious, could not be prevailed upon to wait till he had done, although desired, but forced him away instantly before the magistrates, who upon examination finding the house was certified, and that by disturbing a lawful assembly for an unlawful one, they had exceeded their commission, they excused the matter as well as they could, and presently dismissed him. In this transaction we have an evidence that the spirit of persecution survived the act of toleration, and that the disposition to injure still remained in many minds, although the power to gratify it was taken away.

These magistrates afterwards threatened the innkeeper to fine him for a conventicle held in his house, so earnest were they to revive the former severities ; but the bishop's certificates of the due notice being produced, secured the man from their mischievous designs.

Friends after all this hired a house in this city for a meeting-place, and William Penn came thither again, and had a meeting to good satisfaction. Several other meetings, and the quar-

CHAP. terly meeting for the county, were afterwards
IX. held there.

1695. This year friends of the meeting for sufferings in London renewed their application to parliament, for accepting their solemn affirmation of the members of their society instead of an oath, by the following case and petition:

“ The suffering case of the People commonly
“ called Quakers, relating to oaths and swear-
“ ing, humbly offered.

Application
for relief in
the case of
swearing.

“ It is not unknown to this nation, that ever
“ since we were a people, it hath been our
“ principle not to swear, make, or take oaths,
“ which he, who is the searcher of all hearts,
“ knows is no other than a case of pure con-
“ science, in tender obedience to the mind of
“ our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as
“ we are fully persuaded (according as many
“ eminent martyrs and men of wisdom and re-
“ nown were, who testified against oaths and
“ swearing in the gospel day) and not obsti-
“ nacy, disaffection or worldly interests whatso-
“ ever on our parts; we being really willing and
“ desirous to answer the just and good ends of
“ law and government, as a peaceable people,
“ fearing God; and for this cause of not swear-
“ ing we have been exposed to great sufferings
“ and inconveniencies in our persons and es-
“ tates, by tedious imprisonments, and dis-
“ abled from receiving our due debts, or de-
“ fending our just titles and properties; not suf-
“ fered to give evidence in courts of judicature,
“ at

“ at common or civil law, nor to answer in CHAP.
 “ Chancery or Exchequer, prove wills and tef- IX.
 “ taments, or take administrations, or to pro- ~~~~~
 “ ceed in our trades at the custom-house, or be 1695.
 “ admitted to our lands, or trusted in our duties
 “ and services in courts leet or courts baron, but
 “ great advantage is taken against us, because
 “ we so fear an oath, as that we dare not swear;
 “ for which cause also our children and young
 “ men are not allowed their freedoms in cities
 “ or corporations, when they have faithfully
 “ served out their apprenticeships; nor admit-
 “ ted to give our voices in elections of magi-
 “ strates and parliament members in divers pla-
 “ ces, though known to have right thereunto,
 “ as freeholders, &c.

“ Wherefore our request is, that in all cases
 “ where oaths are imposed, and swearing re-
 “ quired, our word, that is our solemn affir-
 “ mation or denial, as in the fear and presence
 “ of God, may be accepted instead of an oath,
 “ for which we humbly offer, and freely submit,
 “ that if any under the same profession among
 “ us, break their word, or be found false in
 “ such affirmation or denial, or guilty of false-
 “ hood in any unsworn testimony, evidence or
 “ answers, that then such penalty be inflicted on
 “ the person so offending as law and justice re-
 “ quire in case of false swearing or perjury.”

“ To the respective members of the house of Application
 “ commons, the humble application of the to the house
 “ People commonly called Quakers. of com-
 mons.

“ We the said people, being members of
 “ that body which you represent, and con-
 C c 2 “ cerned

C H A P. “cerned in trade and industry, and employing
 IX. “many poor in the manufactories of this na-
 1695. “tion, as also in contributing to the charge
 “of the government according to our abilities,
 “do desire and humbly crave that our liberties,
 “rights and properties may be secured to us
 “and ours, that we may no longer be exposed
 “to unjust and vexatious suits, nor be a prey
 “to ill disposed persons, who take advan-
 “tage against us, to prosecute and ruin us,
 “merely because in point of tender conscience,
 “*we dare not swear in any case*, which is in
 “obedience to the command of our blessed
 “Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as we verily
 “believe is our duty in this gospel day; but
 “hold ourselves obliged to declare and testify
 “the truth without oath, in cases wherein
 “our answers and testimonies may be re-
 “quired.


“Wherefore we humbly entreat your chris-
 “tian compassion in your favourable acceptance
 “of our petition, which is for leave to bring in
 “a bill for our relief, and so to consider our
 “suffering case as if it were your own, and you
 “in our stead; that we and our posterity may
 “have cause to bless the Lord on your behalf.”

“To the commons of England in parliament
 “assembled.

Petition. “The humble petition of the People called
 “Quakers.

“Sheweth,

“Our many long and renewed sufferings for
 “*not swearing* we hope may give satisfaction to
 “this

“ this nation, that it is purely our conscientious C H A P.
 “ and religious principle *not to swear in any* IX.
 “ *case*, in tender obedience to the command of 
 “ our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as 1695.
 “ we are fully persuaded, and according to the
 “ example of many eminent martyrs and men
 “ of holiness, wisdom and renown, who testi-
 “ fied against oaths and swearing in the gospel
 “ day ; nevertheless we have been, and yet are
 “ exposed in our persons to tedious imprison-
 “ ments, in our estates to sequestrations and
 “ seizures, disabled from defending our just titles
 “ and properties, recovering our just debts, or
 “ helping others in like cases, and to many un-
 “ just and vexatious suits.

“ Wherefore the power of relieving us by
 “ law from these our grievances and hardships,
 “ resting in the king and parliament, our hum-
 “ ble request is, that you will favourably please
 “ to give leave to bring in a bill, that our
 “ solemn affirmation or denial may be accepted
 “ instead of an oath, freely submitting, that
 “ whoever in this case shall falsify the truth, and
 “ be thereof duly convicted, shall undergo like
 “ pains and penalties as in law and justice are
 “ due unto perjured persons.”

A committee of the aforesaid meeting was
 moreover appointed to solicit the members in
 favour of the petition, and to procure the pass-
 ing of a bill for the relief of friends. They
 shewed copies of the petition to many of the
 members, to furnish them previously with a clear
 understanding of the nature of the case, as hav-
 ing a conscientious scruple against violating the
 command of Christ, *swear not at all*, which they
 understood


Committee
 appointed
 to solicit
 members,
 and pro-
 mote the
 passing of
 the bill.

CHAP. understood to be a positive prohibition; also to
 IX. shew them the great necessity of affording them
 relief in this case, by reason of the hardships and
 1695. disappointments to themselves and others, for
 want of their power to give legal evidence without
 injuring their consciences.

They spent some weeks in solicitations previous to their introduction of the petition, being desirous that it might not be presented too hastily or abruptly, before the members of the house were properly apprized of the tenour and tendency thereof, and prepared for its reception. They then applied to Edmund Waller, Esq; to take in the petition, which he cheerfully undertook, moved the reading thereof, and for leave to bring in a bill, *that the solemn affirmation, &c.* which motion was carried by a great majority, and leave accordingly given.

The friends of the committee would have been glad to have procured the acceptance of their simple affirmation or negation without any appeal to the divine Being; but the friends in the house, who were rejoiced at their success so far, and who were active in promoting the bill, giving their opinion, that to make the attestation so solemn in courts of justice, as to be adequate to the idea of the parliament, there must be some solemn or sacred expressions respecting the omniscience of God, as, *solemnly to declare the truth in his presence*, in which form they thought it more eligible to acquiesce, than to risque the losing of the bill. In this form it passed the house of commons.

In order to procure it an easy passage through the house of lords, the case of friends was reprinted and enlarged; particularly with reference
 to

to the Menonists in Holland, who had since 1577 C H A P.
 the indulgence granted them, that their *Yea and* IX.
Nay should be accepted instead of an oath, they 
 being subject in case of falsifying the truth to the 1695.
 penalty of perjury, and no public or private
 damage had been found to result therefrom.

But although king William had made it his
 study to fill up the vacant sees with men of dis-
 tinguished moderation, yet there seemed to re- In the house
 main still some bishops of the old cast, who re- of lords
 tained an aversion to the ease intended by bishops en-
 this bill, and excepting against the form of af- deavour to
 firmation, aimed at defeating the benefit there- frustrate
 of, by substituting an oath in effect, in a diffe- their appli-
 rent form, in place of an oath in the common cation.
 form. Instead of the affirmation, as it came By chang-
 from the commons, they wanted to introduce ing the
 more solemn asseverations, such as, I call God to form of the
 witness and judge, &c. I call God to record affirmation
 upon my soul, and appeal to God as a judge of into a
 the truth of what I say, &c. which the com- solemn oath
 mittee of the meeting for sufferings being in a new
 formed of by some of the temporal peers, who form.
 were friendly, and wished to redress the grievan-
 ces of the society in this respect, justly remarked
 that the end of their solicitation and petitioning
 to be freed from all oaths, as contrary to their
 conscientious persuasion, would be manifestly de-
 feated by the imposition of a new oath, in which
 light they understood all these proposed forms of
 expression, whereinto the invocation of the sa-
 cred name as judge or avenger was introduced.
 Upon this representation the peers returned into
 the house and entered into a fresh debate, and
 returning back to the friends in waiting, in-
 formed them that they had brought the bishops
 to agree to this amendment, to add after the
 word

C H A P. word [God] these words [the witness of the truth
 IX. of what I say] and earnestly persuaded them to
 agree to the addition of these words, rather than
 1695. lose the bill, whereupon the said friends, finding
 they could do no better, consented to leave the
 matter to their discretion; so the bill was finally
 passed, with an affirmation in this form, *I, A. B.*
do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the
witness of the truth of what I say.

Form of
 first affir-
 mation.

The act as passed, besides the foregoing, con-
 tained the following article.

Clause re-
 specting
 tithes.

“ Fourthly, And whereas, by reason of a pre-
 tended scruple of conscience, Quakers do re-
 fuse to pay tithes and church-rates, be it en-
 acted, by the authority aforesaid, that where
 any Quaker shall refuse to pay or compound
 for his great or small tithes, or to pay any
 church-rates, it shall and may be lawful to
 and for the two next justices of peace of the
 same county (other than such justice of the
 peace as is patron of the church or chapel
 whence the said tithes do or shall arise, or any
 ways interested in the said tithes) upon the
 complaint of any parson, vicar, farmer or
 proprietor of tithes, church-warden or church-
 wardens, who ought to have, receive or col-
 lect the same, by warrant under their hands
 and seals, to convene before them such Qua-
 ker or Quakers neglecting or refusing to pay
 or compound for the same, and to examine
 upon oath, which oath the said justices are
 hereby empowered to administer, or in such
 manner as by this act is provided, the truth
 and justice of the said complaint, and to as-
 certain and state what is due and payable by
 such Quaker or Quakers to the party or par-
 ties

“ ties complaining; and by order under their C H A P.
 “ hands and seals to direct and appoint the pay- IX.
 “ ment thereof, so as the sum ordered as afore- 1695.
 “ said do not exceed ten pounds; and upon re-
 “ fusal by such Quaker or Quakers to pay, ac-
 “ cording to such order, it shall and may be
 “ lawful to and for any one of the said justices,
 “ by warrant under his hand and seal to levy the
 “ money thereby ordered to be paid, by distress
 “ and sale of goods of such offender, his ex-
 “ ecutors or administrators, rendering only the
 “ overplus to him, her or them, necessary char-
 “ ges of distraining being thereout first deduct-
 “ ed and allowed by the said justice; and any
 “ person finding him, her or themselves aggriev-
 “ ed by any judgment given by such two justi-
 “ ces of the peace, shall and may appeal to the
 “ next general quarter sessions to be held for the
 “ county, riding, city or town corporate; and
 “ the justices of the peace there present, or the
 “ major part of them, shall proceed finally to
 “ hear and determine the matter, and to reverse
 “ the said judgment, if they shall see cause;
 “ and if the justices then present, or the major
 “ part of them, shall find cause to continue the
 “ judgment given by the first two justices of
 “ the peace, they shall then decree the same by
 “ order of sessions, and shall also proceed to
 “ give such costs against the appellant, to be le-
 “ vied by distress and sale of goods and chattels
 “ of the said appellant, as to them shall seem
 “ just and reasonable; and no proceedings or
 “ judgment had or to be had by virtue of this
 “ act shall be removed or superseded by any writ
 “ of *certiorari* or other writ out of his majesty’s
 “ courts at Westminster, or any other court
 “ whatsoever,

CHAP. "whatsoever, unless the title of such tithes
IX. "shall be in question."

1695.

This act for seven years, was at the expiration continued for eleven years longer, and afterwards in the year 1715 made perpetual; but the terms of this affirmation being still uneasy to many friends, who conscientiously scrupling the use thereof, as in their opinion approaching too near the nature of an oath, by reason of an implied appeal to God for the truth, applied for an amendment thereof in the year 1721, and obtained their request.

Bill brought
in for better
payment of
small tithes
and church-
rates.

Whilst King William was studiously endeavouring to relieve the people called Quakers from their sufferings and hardships to which they were exposed, the high-church ecclesiastics were contriving to bring them under the lash of a fresh penal law. A bill was brought into the house of Lords about this time, by the bishop of London, and warmly promoted by him, for the better payment of church-rates, small tithes and other church dues, whereby the penalties of the act of 32 Henry VIII. for the recovery of predial tithes were extended to small tithes, repairing the public places of worship, clerks wages, and even the demands of the sexton; so that for a trifling demand of perhaps less than a shilling any person might be subjected to the enormous expence of a suit in the ecclesiastical courts, and if he did not obey the monition of the judge to pay the demands and costs, he was to be attached, and committed to prison without bail or mainprize, as specified in the aforesaid act of Henry VIII. for predial tithes, with this addition, that the justices may grant warrants to distrain the

the goods of defendants in such causes, or imprisonment if no distress could be found. CHAP. IX.

A bill of this tendency to bring very severe injury to the people called Quakers must necessarily awaken the attention of the meeting for sufferings in London. Having previously procured a copy of the bill, and prepared some exceptions to it, shewing how injurious it would be to the rights and properties of the subject, and how repugnant to common law and justice, if passed into an act; and having notice of the day appointed for a committee of the lords to sit upon it, some of the friends of London were admitted to an audience of the said committee. The bishop of London being chairman interrogated them what reason they had to except against the bill? To which George Whitehead replied, the same reason that is given in the act of parliament 17 Charles I. for abolishing the star-chamber and high commission courts, it being conceived with submission, that the same reasons may be objected to the present bill, as giving absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts, their judges and ordinaries, to pass definitive sentence without appeal, and conveying to them the power of becoming arbitrary and oppressive, which were the reasons assigned for abolishing the aforesaid arbitrary courts. 1695. Friends of London appear against it.

The temporal lords were very civil and kind during the conference, and after much discourse the bishop asking if they had any exceptions to offer in writing, was answered in the affirmative, and the following exceptions produced:

“ Exceptions

CHAP. " Exceptions against the bill, entitled an act for
 IX. " the better payment of church rates, small
 { " tithes, and other church dues; and for
 1695. " better passing church-wardens accounts.

Exceptions
 against the
 bill.

" Humbly offered,

" It is observed, That in the said bill no
 " appeal to any other or higher court is grant-
 " ed, or provision made for redress or restitu-
 " tion to the persons wrongfully prosecuted;
 " nor for the punishment of such as may ma-
 " liciously or wrongfully prosecute others; but
 " the ecclesiastical judge is made the sole judge
 " and determiner, by his definitive sentence,
 " concerning the penalties upon the persons and
 " personal estates.—No trial by juries allowed,
 " although the penalty seems to be two-fold, or
 " of two kinds, imprisonment of persons and
 " distress of goods.—No discharge of the pri-
 " soner provided when distress is made; doth
 " not this amount to two punishments for one
 " offence (supposed), that is loss of liberty and
 " loss of goods, tending to starve the poor
 " widow and children at home?—No legal ex-
 " cuse admitted or provided for the party cited,
 " summoned or prosecuted, suppose he be gone
 " a long journey, or otherwise unavoidably pre-
 " vented by his emergent occasions from ap-
 " pearing, but he must be taken *pro confesso*,
 " which is to condemn him without hearing.
 " The penalty the same for not paying the clerks
 " or sexton or church-rates, as is for not pay-
 " ing small tithes. Query, *How can this be*
 " *equal or bear proportion?* May not this in-
 " crease

“crease our trouble and sufferings, by thus giving power to so many, and such prosecutors as clerks, sextons, &c. and on such small accounts as theirs. CHAP. IX.

1695.

“Any party or witnesses cited to appear in the ecclesiastical court are liable to imprisonment upon certificate from the said court, which is or may be very hard, especially as to our friends, who cannot for conscience sake swear in any case.

“Whether this bill does not exceed the statute 32 Henry VIII. c. 7. in severity, and give greater and more absolute power to the ecclesiastical courts over men’s persons and properties than ever they had, excepting the power of the star-chamber and the ecclesiastical commissioners, or high commission court, taken away, repealed and made void, 17 Car. I. chap. 10, 11. An appeal seems allowed, stat. Hen. VIII. chap. 7. § 3. Here’s none in this bill. Imprisonments till sureties to perform the definitive sentence and judgment of the court ecclesiastical, but no distress of goods in the interim, by the said statute 32 Henry VIII. chap. 7. § 4. which yet is very hard and severe of itself.

“It is also with submission conceived that other reasons against this bill may be duly alleged, and such as formerly did legally and justly induce the parliament to repeal the statute made the eleventh year of Henry VII. chap. 3. which was repealed in the first year of Henry VIII. chap. 6. vide Chief Justice Coke’s institutes, part 4, folio 40, 41, and second part, folio 51, where Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley’s arbitrary proceedings thereupon

CHAP. “ thereupon are discovered and condemned, as
 IX. “ well as the said court of star-chamber, and
 “ the power of the high commission court, were
 1695. “ taken away by king and parliament, as before
 “ quoted.

“ ’Tis conceived that the same reasons for
 “ removing those courts and repeal of the
 “ branch of the said statute, 1 Eliz. (which gave
 “ them their power and jurisdiction) stand good
 “ against the present bill, as being contrary to
 “ the great charter and common course of jus-
 “ tice, by giving such absolute power to the ec-
 “ clestiaſtical courts and their judges, to deter-
 “ mine and give definitive sentence and judg-
 “ ment upon subjects personal estates or goods
 “ and chattels, and for confinement of persons ;
 “ which tends greatly to oppress, burden and
 “ ruin them. Lastly, the liberty of conscience
 “ already confirmed by law may greatly be in-
 “ fringed and lessened, if the ecclesiastical judges
 “ or courts have such absolute power and jurif-
 “ diction given them over men’s persons and pro-
 “ perties, according to the import of the present
 “ bill ; which it is really believed must needs
 “ greatly dissatisfy many thousands of the king’s
 “ conscientious protestant subjects, and increase
 “ the number of prisoners, of which there are
 “ many on the account of conscience already.”

The bill was laid aside.

C H A P. X.

Treaty of Ryfwick.—Address of the People called Quakers thereupon.—A Spirit of Persecution revived.—Some Priests of Norfolk challenge to a Dispute.—They publish two abusive Tracts.—Answered by George Whitehead.—Remonstrance by William Penn.—They procure a Petition against the Quakers to Parliament.—The Petition suppressed.—Second Petition from the Magistrates of Edmundsbury, Suffolk, also suppressed.—Account of Charles Marshall.—Account of John Crook.

A TREATY of peace was concluded at Ryf-C H A P.
 wick this year between England, France and X.
 Holland, whereby the nation was relieved from ~~~~~
 a long and expensive war, and king William 1697.
 acknowledged by Lewis XIV. as king of Great
 Britain, who also engaged not to disturb king
 William in the possession of his realms and go-
 vernment, nor assist his enemies, nor favour
 conspiracies against his person. Addresses of con-
 gratulation hereupon being made or sent up to
 the king from many quarters, and from most or
 all other societies of protestants; this society
 also in point of gratitude for the religious liberty
 they now enjoyed, and to testify their satisfac-
 tion in the restoration of peace, presented the
 following address:

“ To

CHAP.

x. “ To king William the third, over England, &c.

1697.
Address to
king Wil-
liam on the
treaty of
Ryswick.

“ The grateful acknowledgment of the People
“ commonly called Quakers, humbly pre-
“ sented.

“ May it please the king,

“ Seeing the most high God, who ruleth in
“ the kingdoms of men, and appointeth over
“ them whomsoever he will, hath by his over-
“ ruling power and providence placed thee in
“ dominion and dignity over these realms, and
“ by his divine favour has signally preserved
“ and delivered thee from many great and immi-
“ nent dangers, and graciously turned the cala-
“ mity of war into the desired mercy of peace;
“ we heartily wish that we and all others con-
“ cerned may be truly sensible and humbly
“ thankful to Almighty God for the same, that
“ the peace may be a lasting and perpetual blef-
“ sing.

“ And now, O king, the God of peace hav-
“ ing returned thee in safety, it is cause of joy
“ to them that fear him, to hear thy good and
“ seasonable resolution effectually to discourage
“ profaneness and immorality, righteousness
“ being that which exalteth a nation. And as
“ the king has been tenderly inclined to give
“ ease and liberty of conscience to his subjects
“ of different persuasions (of whose favours we
“ have largely partaken), so we esteem it our
“ duty gratefully to commemorate and acknow-
“ ledge the same, earnestly beseeching Almighty
“ God to assist the king to prosecute all these
“ his

“ his just and good inclinations, that his days C H A P.
 “ here may be happy and peaceable, and here- x.
 “ after he may partake of a lasting crown that ~~~~~
 “ will never fade away.” 1697.

London, 7th of 11^{mo}. called January, 1697.

The society of people, called Quakers, al- 1698.
 though they now enjoyed the exemptions of the A spirit of
 act of toleration, did not enjoy them unmolested. persecution
 There still survived a spirit of persecution and revived.
 intolerance in fundry ecclesiastics and others,
 who envied them the liberty with which they
 were favoured, and united their exertions to de-
 prive them thereof. The first effort about this
 time was made by some priests of Norfolk, at the
 instigation of one Francis Bugg, who formerly
 made profession with the people called Quakers,
 and had apostatized from them some years be-
 fore, whether with William Rogers and the se-
 paratists of that day, or before, I find no certain
 account; he seems to have been of too little con-
 sequence to be particularly noticed, only in a
 cursory manner, in any records or memoirs of
 this people I have met with.

These Norfolk priests commenced hostilities by Some priests
 a challenge to a public meeting in their parish of Norfolk
 church (so called) at West Deerham, where some challenge to
 friends of London and of the country met them; a dispute.
 the priests had got many books written by some
 of the society, and endeavoured from thence to
 draw injurious conclusions, which they could not
 make good, nor gain the advantage they expect-
 ed and aimed at in this dispute.

CHAP. Being disappointed in their hopes in this verbal
 X. controvery, they then took up the pen, and published two tracts, entitled, 1st. *A Brief Discovery*, &c. 2d, *Some few of the Quakers many horrid Blasphemies*; and now discovering their real intention, they presented these calumniating tracts to the parliament or members thereof, to prepare the way for their further attempts.

1698.
 They publish two abusive tracts.

Answered
 by George
 Whitehead.

These books, written with design to represent the principles of the Quakers blasphemous, and the people seditious, met with suitable answers by George Whitehead, wherein their ungenerous aims were detected, and their acrimonious and injurious assertions refuted; and copies of this answer were also delivered to the members of parliament, to obviate any ill impressions from their misrepresentations.

Remonstrance by
 W. Penn.

But as these answers could not be finished and printed off so expeditiously as the exigency required, the following brief remonstrance, drawn up by William Penn, was in the mean time printed, and handed to the members of parliament.

“ It does not surprize us to be evilly
 “ treated, and especially by those that have an
 “ interest in doing it. But if conscience pre-
 “ vailed more than contention, and charity over-
 “ ruled prejudices, we might hope for fairer
 “ quarter from our adversaries.

“ But such is our unhappiness, that nothing
 “ less will satisfy them than breaking in upon
 “ the indulgence that we enjoy, if they could
 “ persuade the government to second their at-
 “ tempts to a new persecution, in order to which
 “ we perceive they have been hard at work to
 “ pervert our books, violate our sense, abuse
 “ our

“ our practice, and ridicule our persons ; know- CH A P.
 “ ing very well with whom they have to do, X.
 “ and that the patience of our profession is
 “ their security for abusing of it. 1698.

“ However, if it has weight enough with our
 “ superiors to expect a fresh defence of our
 “ principles and practices, we shall, with God’s
 “ assistance, be ready, for their satisfaction,
 “ once more to justify both, against the insults
 “ of our restless adversaries ; who otherwise,
 “ we take leave to say, would not deserve our
 “ notice, since we have already repeatedly an-
 “ swered their objections in print, and think it
 “ our duty, as well as wisdom, to use the li-
 “ berty the government has favoured us with,
 “ in as peaceable and inoffensive a manner as
 “ may be.”

Notwithstanding which, these priests and their
 assistant Francis Bugg, and other abettors, not
 contented with vilifying the people called Qua-
 kers with their gross aspersions in print, proceed-
 ed in their design, and procured an invidious
 petition to the house of commons replete with
 general invectives against this people, accusations
 without grounds, and calumnies which they could
 not prove ; a copy whereof will evince the ex-
 tent of their evil disposition, and their reluctance
 to the toleration granted by the late act.

These
 priests
 procure an
 invidious
 petition to
 parliament.

“ To the House of Commons.

“ Norfolk petition of justices and grand jurors.

“ We cannot without resentment take notice
 “ of the great growth and daily increase of the
 D d 2 “ Quakers,

CHAP. X. Quakers, and the *mischiefs* and *dangers* from
 X. "thence threatening this nation.

1698:

"It is observable with what restless zeal their
 "deluding teachers, and (as we suspect) many
 "*Romish emissaries* under their disguise ramble
 "into all parts of these kingdoms, and boldly
 "spread their *venomous doctrines* every where;
 "attempting to infect and shake the minds of
 "weak protestants; and assuming rules of dis-
 "cipline, powers in matters of religion and
 "forms of government, repugnant to the esta-
 "blished laws of this kingdom, contrary to the
 "very act of toleration, and not allowed to any
 "other dissenters; vouching all their actions by
 "divine inspiration for their warrant, and the
 "indulgence of the government for their in-
 "demnity.

"How apparently their *blasphemous books* and
 "*pernicious principles* tend to subvert the funda-
 "mentals of christianity and undermine the ci-
 "vil government is sufficiently demonstrable;
 "the publishing whereof, by pretended per-
 "mission of the government, is of a most dan-
 "gerous consequence.

"The prayer is to take these things into con-
 "sideration, that: (with whatsoever tenderness
 "to the persons and estates of these people)
 "their said principles and practices may be
 "strictly examined, and censured or suppressed
 "as they shall appear to deserve, and as in
 "your great wisdom shall seem expedient;
 "and that the true christian religion may be
 "preserved from popish superstition and unpol-
 "luted with enthusiastical innovations."

It is unnecessary to make any comment on CHAP.
 this extraordinary petition, it speaks for itself, x.
 that the spirit of persecution survived the act of
 toleration in the breasts of all concerned in it. 1698.

Two priests, John Meriton and L—— Top-
 cliff attended the parliament to solicit the intro-
 ducing of their petition into the house: but the
 times were now changed, and more liberal sen-
 timents in respect to religious liberty generally
 adopted by all men of sense and candour, than
 had prevailed in the preceding reigns. Friends
 having obtained a copy of the petition shewed it
 to several of the leading members of parliament,
 and how the direct tendency thereof was to make
 void the act of toleration, and the liberty of
 conscience legally granted by the government.
 This consequence was too obvious, not to be
 perceived by the members at the first view, and
 they resolved accordingly to set their faces against
 the petition; the petitioners put it into the hands
 of the members for the county, who were
 brought into a disagreeable dilemma, under the
 prospect of either disobliging the clergy of their
 own county and their partisans, or taking a part
 contrary to their own judgment and the general
 sentiments of the house: But on due delibera-
 tion they prudently withheld the petition, as
 thinking it in vain to make a motion in favour
 of a measure which they were sensible would be
 immediately rejected.

Friends ob-
 tain a copy
 of the peti-
 tion, and
 shew it to
 the mem-
 bers of par-
 liament.

The peti-
 tion sup-
 pressed.

A petition of the like tenour and tendency
 was also drawn up by the magistrates of Ed-
 mundsbury in Suffolk, who had signalized their
 promptitude to persecution, while the penal laws
 were in force, and hereby evidence their
 regret at being deprived of the power of
 domi-

Second pe-
 tition from
 the magi-
 strates of
 Edmunds-
 bury.

CHAP. domineering and harassing their inoffensive fel-
 X. low subjects, and their eagerness to regain it.
 Their petition was drawn up in the following
 1698. terms :

“ To the honourable the commons of England,
 “ in parliament assembled.

“ The humble petition of the aldermen, assistant
 “ justice, and chief burghes and burghesses of
 “ the common-council, in behalf of themselves
 “ and the other inhabitants of the borough
 “ of Bury St. Edmund’s in Suffolk.

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That we considering that all ancient heresies
 “ which have vexed both church and state,
 “ were never so formidable in their rise and
 “ progress, as are the Quakers ; we have too
 “ just a cause of dreading the subversion of our
 “ government by them if not carefully prevent-
 “ ed and suppressed, being in their clandestine
 “ constitutions opposite to the condition of our
 “ established policy, and in their principles of
 “ faith anti-christian ; of government anti-mo-
 “ narchical ; in points of doctrine anti-scrip-
 “ tural ; and in practices illegal, having their
 “ monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings, which
 “ we cannot but reasonably believe tend not
 “ only to the subversion of our laws but of our
 “ religion also, to us of greater concern than
 “ our lives.

“ We

“ We therefore, obliged in duty to God and
 “ our country, do humbly pray your timely
 “ consideration of our jealousies, and remove
 “ our fears, if not by totally suppressing, yet
 “ at least by preventing their after-growth and
 “ increase amongst us; that our posterity may
 “ untroubled live by this early care of our laws
 “ and liberties, and we enjoy the wished-for
 “ happiness of a peaceful life.”

CHAP.

X.

1698.

The tendency of this petition was so plain and evident, that after the care of friends respecting the Norfolk petition they had little trouble about this; for the Suffolk members had with others declared their aversion to the principles and drift of the former petition, and therefore would not violate their own judgments and convictions so far as to introduce it into the house; but prudently suppressed it.

Suppressed
also.

In this year this society in the city of London in particular, was deprived of the company and services of a very valuable and respectable member in the decease of Charles Marshall, who had fixed his residence for several years past in that city. He was born in the city of Bristol, in the 4th month, 1637, and his parents, being persons of religious and virtuous dispositions, gave him a good education, directed to cultivate a similar virtuous disposition in him, as well as to furnish him with a sufficient attainment of literature, to fill his station in future life with reputation. Faithful guardians of his tender youth, they endeavoured to preserve his innocence by a cautious restriction from the company of such children, as being less carefully educated, by their conversation and example might prove injurious

Account of
C. Marshall.

CHAP. to him. Whilst yet a child he took delight in
 X. reading the scriptures, and conceived an abhor-
 1628. rence of swearing, lying and other immoralities;
 at this tender age his mother was careful to
 take him along with her to the meetings of the
 independents, which she frequented, who were
 at that time an enlightened, sincere and consci-
 entious people; sometimes he went to the bap-
 tist meetings, and after the custom of that seek-
 ing age, to hear those teachers of every denomi-
 nation, who were in greatest repute for their zeal,
 experience and piety.

As he grew in years and experience, he per-
 ceived that many of these people departed from
 the pure principle of light and grace, into life-
 less and empty profession, wherefore he became
 dissatisfied with them, and left them, spending
 much time in solitary retirement in the fields
 and woods to pour forth his supplications to the
 Almighty, and meditate in his law, out of the
 sight or observation of men; being in great
 conflict of spirit under the weight of death and
 darkness prevailing over him, he cried for deli-
 verance, and being now much detached from
 gathered societies, he consoled with some other
 seeking people, who spent one day in the week
 in fasting and prayer.

This was about the year 1654, when John
 Camm and John Audland, having under a reli-
 gious engagement of mind travelled to Bristol,
 visited the select society in their meeting, when
 by the powerful ministry of John Audland,
 Charles Marshall was effectually reached, con-
 vinced and turned to an attention to the mani-
 festations of the light in his own heart.

Through

Through a long series of inward exercises, CHAP. X.
 spiritual conflicts and assaults of the prince of the power of the air, which were made manifest by the light in his conscience, he grew in experience till the work of sanctification was measurably perfected, and after many years, viz. in the year 1670, he received a dispensation of the gospel to minister to others, in the like demonstration of a divine influence by which he himself had been convinced; and by his labours and travels was instrumental to convince many others, and convert them to righteousness, continuing a faithful minister to the last. 1698.

In the same year 1670 he commenced his travels in the work of the ministry under the impression of a divine requisition, first through the neighbouring counties of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, and thence northward as far as Kendal in Westmorland, and back again through Cheshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire home; and so continued his travels pretty constantly to the year 1672, during which time he visited most parts of England, and what at this time was very remarkable, met with no interruption by imprisonment or from informers, no man being suffered to lay hands on him or stop his journey; neither did any man (as far as he knew or heard) lose five pounds on his account by means of the conventicle act. But he was twice sick, nigh unto death, and passed through many trials, difficulties and jeopardies, from which he experienced deliverance many ways. One particular instance was this, having the sands to cross near Ulverston in Lancashire, he came in company with four others to the river side, where they were informed by two persons who

CHAP X. who lived on the other side, that they might get over in safety; but he found a stop in his own mind, and standing still he received this intelligence, which he understood to be a divine warning, *that if any attempted to go at that time they would perish*; and in about an hour the sea overflowed the sands, which were several miles over, whence they concluded, if they had gone at that time they had lost their lives.

1698.

Although he seems to have escaped imprisonment and personal injury beyond most of his friends cotemporary with him, yet he did not escape entirely. Being at a meeting at Claverham in Somersetshire, in the 10th month 1674, some justices came to break up the meeting, one of whom, Francis Pawlet of Wells, as he was concerned in prayer, laid violent hands on him, to pull him through the rail of the gallery, and gripped him by the side so rudely and so hard as caused him to spit blood, and haled him out of the meeting, whereby he received a contusion, of which he complained long after.

He is imprisoned for non-payment of tithes.

He was a considerable sufferer for his testimony against tithes, in the loss and spoil of his goods. In the year 1682, whilst resident at Tetherington in Wiltshire, he was prosecuted for tithes by John Townshend, priest of that parish, in consequence whereof he was arrested, and brought before the barons of the Exchequer, and committed to the Fleet prison, where he was confined for the space of two years. The priest growing uneasy in his mind about this time, came in person to the prison, released him, and soon after died. Upon his release Charles Marshall stayed in London, and fixed his domestic residence there, but was frequent in

in his visits to his native city, Bristol, and places adjacent, as well as several other parts of England.

CHAP.
X.

1698.

Previous to his said imprisonment, while he was a resident in Wiltshire, the separation which had its rise in Westmorland, by the opposition of John Wilkinson and John Story to the establishment of an orderly discipline, had spread to the city of Bristol and the adjacent counties, particularly Wiltshire, which was a new source of exercise to our said friend with others of his brethren, men of discernment and integrity, who clearly perceived the fallacious origin and pernicious tendency thereof, and erected their joint endeavours in much sincerity, meekness and patience, to prevent its progress, by zealous and charitable endeavours to convince the opponents of their error, to recover them to a better temper, and to rescue the more unexperienced or unstable members of the society from being drawn aside by plausible and deceptive reasonings. For this purpose George Fox in the year 1677 came to Bristol, and being joined by William Penn and Charles Marshall they obtained a meeting with William Rogers and several others of the separatists, in order to convince them of their error and the causelessness of their separation, and the hurt which the temper of their own minds sustained by entertaining sensations of rancour, passion and hostility to their former friends, upon groundless surmises and suspicions; but their well meant endeavours were ineffectual, these separatists of Bristol being elevated in self-sufficiency and obstinate in their opposition, like their associates of Westmorland, eluded all advances to reconciliation and mutual concord.

He joins G.
Fox and W.
Penn in en-
deavours to
reclaim the
separatists,
but in vain.

Being

C H A P.

X.

1698.

Yet exerts
himself to
establish dis-
cipline in
these parts,
notwith-
standing
their oppo-
sition.

Being thus determined to persist in their opposition to the establishment of good order in the society, and Charles Marshall from clear conviction of the utility thereof, finding it his duty to exert himself to procure its establishment in those counties and places where the opposition thereto was kept up with the greatest violence of enmity, he met with many trials of his faith and patience amongst them: But being on a good foundation, engaged in a good cause, and finding all endeavours to recover the opponents to a better temper fruitless, he opposed their machinations with wisdom and fortitude, and bore his testimony against the spirit they were in with faithfulness, and without giving way to their insinuations or reproaches in the least. In the authority of the gospel, he with his fellow labourers maintained a superiority over the antagonists, and laboured with a good degree of success to lay open the fallacy of their pretensions, and to establish the churches in the city of Bristol and the adjacent counties in peace and good order.

Through many trying exercises of body and mind he continued his labours and travels in the work of the ministry for the greatest part of twenty years, freely given up to spend his substance, time and strength therein for the gaining of souls, and converting many to the way of life and salvation. His last journey was to Bristol and the western counties, after his return from which he was visited with a lingering indisposition which proved mortal, contrary to the opinion of his physicians, but not to his own, for he seemed fixed in the opinion that

it

it would terminate his existence in this world. CHAP.
X.

And even before his illness he seemed to have a presage of his approaching end, for some little time before he pressinglly requested an intimate friend to take a ride with him, having something of moment to impart, and when they were gone a few miles out of London, he told him, *he was satisfied the time of his departure drew near, and therefore he was desirous of an opportunity to discourse with him between themselves about some particulars before he died.* 1698.
Piety promoted.

And when, soon after this, he was seized with indisposition, though he remained settled in opinion that he should not recover; yet this fixed persuasion of his mind was attended with no fearful apprehensions of his future well-being; having passed a life of faithfulness, integrity and extensive benevolence in the service of God and man, he felt, in the assured prospect of his approaching change, that the work of righteousness was peace, and the effect thereof quietness and assurance for ever.

Being advised to go into the country for the benefit of the air, he rather chose to be removed to John Padley's, near the river side, a friend for whom he had an affectionate esteem; he lay ill about four months in great weakness, frequently attended with great pain; but borne up superior to his affliction, by the serenity of his conscience, he was strengthened to bear his painful sensations with much patience and calm resignation to divine disposal; and his senses and understanding were preserved to him clear and sound to the last, under the pure influence
of

CHAP. of heavenly support and the consolatory enjoy-
 X. ments of divine life.

1698.

His love to his brethren, his universal benevolence and his spiritual abilities, appeared to feel no decay from his bodily weakness, as his expressions and his counsel to those, who came to visit him in his sickness, clearly evidenced; particularly to some of his brethren in the ministry he addressed himself to the following purport, as related by one then present, who committed the substance of his expressions to writing presently after: "I have loved the brethren, I have sought
 " the unity and peace of the church for these
 " forty years, and to my great comfort never
 " did any thing tending to the breach there-
 " of.

" Two things are weightily impressed upon
 " my mind warmly to recommended to friends,
 " which I desire may be communicated to them;
 " the first is, that they gather down unto the
 " immortal seed and word of life in themselves,
 " and be exercised in it before the Lord; and
 " duly prize, and set a right value upon the
 " many outward and inward blessings that the
 " Lord has eminently bestowed upon them
 " since the morning of the day of his blessed
 " visitation; then shall they grow and be pre-
 " served in a living freshness to him, and the
 " Lord will continue his mercies to them,
 " and they shall not want his divine refresh-
 " ing presence in their meetings together before
 " him.

" The second thing is this, that those friends
 " to whom the Lord hath given great estates
 " ought to cast their bread upon the waters,
 " and do good therewith in their life-time;
 " for

“ for those that are enjoyers of such things
 “ should see that they be good stewards thereof.
 “ Oh, the many poor families such persons
 “ might be an help to ! How easily might they
 “ with a little assist many a family to live in the
 “ world ! and what a comfort would it be for such
 “ to see the fruits of their charity in their life-
 “ time ? ” Some of his last words were these,
 “ That he had not handled the word of the
 “ Lord deceitfully, nor done the work negli-
 “ gently ; earnestly desiring friends might live
 “ in love, and keep in the unity of the spirit,
 “ which is the bond of peace.”

CHAP.
 X.
 1698.

As his last moments approached he closed his eyes with his own hand, with composure of mind, as one from whom the sting of death was taken away, and resigned his soul to God who gave it, the 15th of the 9th month 1698, in the sixty-second year of his age.

Although by his profession, which was in the medical line, as an apothecary and chymist, it must be presumed he had acquired a greater share of literature than many of his brethren ; yet in his ministering he affected no shew of learning in the use of high sounding words, nor laboured for elegance of expression, nor leaned upon memory or former openings, but waited to feel the fresh opening of heavenly power, and the animating influence of divine virtue to carry him forth in his ministerial exercises, in which his demeanour was grave and reverent, ministering in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, his ministry was truly edifying and effectual to the refreshment of his friends, and to the converting of many to, and confirmation

CHAP. confirmation of many in pure religion and righteousness.

X.

1698.

He was skilful to divide the word aright in plain dealing and close reproof to such as in life and conversation were inconsistent with their profession, and dishonoured it by a practice contrary thereto; but very tender, sympathizing and encouraging to the well-minded in all their religious exercises.

His zeal for the establishing and keeping up a salutary discipline against much opposition hath been already related; and as he was a man of great meekness and great charity, a lover of the brethren and a promoter of peace in the church, so he was exceedingly zealous against the attempts to rend and divide the body, prevalent in his time, never sparing to reprove their obstinacy, detect their deceitfulness, and bear a faithful testimony against their contentious spirit. His life and conversation gave efficacy to his ministry and to his religious labours, his practice was agreeable to his doctrine, and he was himself a living example of that virtuous and moral conduct to which he was concerned to admonish his friends, feeling for, sympathizing with, and full of compassion to the poor, he failed not to be their advocate with the opulent as well in the different parts of his life, as in his latter end, reminding them at their plentiful tables of the necessitous, and recommending self-denial, hospitality and liberality rather than high living; and also was remarkably exemplary in the practice of that charity which he recommended in the line of his business, freely supplying the sick of this class with advice and with medicine, the hungry

hungry with food, and the naked with raiment, C H A P. X.
according to his ability.

His natural temper was lively and cheerful, 1698.
but his religion tempered it with innocence and meekness; he kept his passions in such subjection that he bore ill-treatment and injuries without resentment, or ruffling the serenity of his mind; he loved, practised and promoted peace, and exerted his endeavours to reconcile such of his friends or others as were in any respect at variance; unity and concord amongst brethren being his delight.

He was an affectionate husband, a tender and vigilant guardian to his children, by counsel and by example training them up in the way they should go, a kind master, a faithful friend and a respectable and serviceable member of religious and civil society; being accounted worthy of double honour amongst his friends, and obtaining a good report among his acquaintance and in his neighbourhood for innocency, honesty and integrity of life.

In this year John Crook departed this life; 1699.
he was a man of literature, of a good estate Account of John Crook.
and rank in life, and in the commission of the peace for Bedfordshire, where he lived: He was early convinced by the ministry of William Dewsbury in 1654, about the 37th year of his age, soon after which his commission was taken away. Through faithfulness to the truth, of which he was convinced, he became deeply experienced in the work of sanctification, and in the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven; whereby he was made an able minister of the gospel, being reputed by his cotemporaries like Apollos, an eloquent man and mighty in the scriptures,

CHAP. which he highly esteemed, and had an excellent
 X. gift in opening the mysteries thereof; and was
 1699. careful to adorn his ministry by a circumspect
 conversation coupled with the fear of the
 Lord.

While the state of his health admitted, he travelled for the edifying his friends in different parts of the nation, but mostly in Bedfordshire and counties adjacent, and was instrumental to the convincement of many of the truth which he had to deliver, but in his latter years being disabled from travelling far by a complication of painful maladies, he resided at Hertford, and spent much of his time in that town and county.

His suffer-
 ings.

We have already seen by the account of his trial at the Old Bailey in 1662, that he, as well as many others of his friends, was a deep sufferer for the testimony of a good conscience, and it was not upon that occasion only that he felt the severity of unmerited persecution. On the 12th or 13th of the 11th month, commonly called January, 1660, O. S. being on his travels in Huntingdonshire, where two friends, Robert Ingram and John Parnel, having been taken from their own houses by a party of horse, and by the commissioners at Huntingdon committed to prison, were visited by some of their friends, when a party of horse surrounded the jail, crying out, *a meeting, a meeting!* and those who came to visit the prisoners were imprisoned with them; but the day following they were discharged by the magistrates, who released them only in hopes of finding a more legal pretence for imprisoning them, saying, *we shall soon have them again;* for they had heard of a
 meeting

meeting appointed at Sotho the next day. Accordingly some armed men on horseback were sent thither, who apprehended several friends, and amongst them John Crook, who being carried before the justices, and refusing to take the oaths, were sent prisoners to Huntingdon. At the assizes in the 1st month called March, most of the prisoners were set at liberty by judge Hale, but John Crook and Robert Ingram, with Benjamin Thornby, were detained until the ensuing assizes, they being causelessly represented as ringleaders, and more dangerous than the rest. John Parnel was discharged as to the oath; but by an action laid against him for small tithes, was detained five years longer in prison, at the suit of John Heath, priest of Hemmingdon-abbott.

CHAP.
X.
1699.

John Crook had enjoyed his liberation from this imprisonment but a short time till he was imprisoned again at Aylesbury. On the 1st of September having appointed a meeting at Culverton near Stony-stratford, six or seven soldiers entered with pistols, and being accompanied with two constables, they ordered them to take out the principal men; but the constables refused, alleging *they knew them not*, at which the soldiers expressed their resentment, and took away eight persons, amongst whom was John Crook, and carried them before the deputy lieutenant of the county, who requiring sureties, which they refused to give, he with much difficulty and perplexity, after some hours puzzling, framed a mittimus, and sent them to Aylesbury jail, where John Crook was detained upwards of three months, as appears by an epistle

CHAP. to his friends dated from thence, and how much
 x. longer I find no certain account.

1699.

His indisposition growing upon him with his advancing years, especially the stone, proved a severe trial of his patience; and although he had long suffered much pain under this and his other disorders, so that he might say with Israel, Psalm 129, *I have been afflicted from my youth*; yet his patience through divine support was remarkable under all his afflictions to the last; under the feeling sense whereof he frequently acknowledged, *that if he did not feel and witness an inward power from the Lord, he could not subsist under his violent pain. And, that the furnace of affliction was of good use, to purge away the dross and earthly part in us.* In all the severity of his pain he was never known to utter an unfavourable expression or impatiently cry out. And when the extremity of his fits was over, he would thankfully express the inward joy and peace of mind which he enjoyed: Beside the bodily affliction with which he was tried, he was not exempt from trials of another kind, in observing the deviation of some of his offspring from the ways of righteousness, under his sorrow, on which account he would sometimes solace himself with the words of David; *although my house be not so with God, yet he hath made with me an everlasting covenant ordered in all things and sure.* In his old age he could remark that many of the ancients are gone to their long home, and we are making haste after them; *they step away before me, and I, that would go, cannot; well! it will soon be my turn also.*

Yet in the intermissions of his distemper he appeared frequently so strong and lively in the
 spiritual

spiritual warfare, in his advanced age, that many C H A P. X.
 were ready to think he might properly adopt
 the language of Caleb, “ As yet I am as strong
 “ this day, as I was in the day that Moses sent 1699.
 “ me; as my strength was then, even so is my
 “ strength now for war, both to go out and
 “ come in.” He continued in a solid and
 christian frame of mind to the last period of his
 life, which was terminated the 26th of 2d month
 O. S. commonly called April, in the 82d year of
 his age, at his house at Hertford.

He left behind in writing, an epistle of weighty
 counsel to his children and grand-children, writ-
 ten scarce two months before his death, as fol-
 loweth :

“ Dear Children,

“ I must leave you in a wicked age, but com-
 “ mend you to the measure of the grace of God
 “ in your inward parts, which you have receiv-
 “ ed by Jesus Christ : and as you love it, and
 “ mind the teachings of it, you will find it a
 “ counsellor to instruct you in the way everlast-
 “ ing, and preserve you out of the ways of the
 “ ungodly.

His advice
to his chil-
dren and
grand chil-
dren.

“ I have seen much in my days, and I always
 “ observed, that the fear of the Lord God prov-
 “ ed the best portion, and those that walked in
 “ it were the only happy people, both in this
 “ life (while they continued faithful) and when
 “ they come to die, though they meet with
 “ many hardships in their passage. By experi-
 “ ence I can speak it, that the ways of holiness
 “ afford more true comfort and peace to the
 “ upright soul, than the greatest pleasures this
 “ world can afford; the former reaches the
 “ heart

- CHAP. " heart and soul, while the delights of this
 x. " world are but a shew, and appearance only,
 1699. " vanishing like a dream; and whoever believes
 " otherwise of them, will certainly find them
 " to be but lying vanities; therefore the apostle,
 " *Rom. vi. 21.* might boldly put the question to
 " the converted Romans, viz. *What fruit had*
 " *you then in those things whereof you are now*
 " *ashamed? for the end of those things is death.*
 " Therefore, dear children, be in love with
 " holiness; make it your companion, and those
 " that walk in it; you may find buddings of it,
 " from an holy seed in your hearts; as you
 " mind the inner man, the light will manifest
 " the stirrings of it after God, which I felt from
 " my tender years; although I understood them
 " not so plainly, till I heard the truth de-
 " clared.
 " I advise you to keep a pure conscience, both
 " towards God and man; for if that be de-
 " filed, hypocrisy and formality will deprive you
 " of all comfortable feeling of God's presence;
 " and then deadness and dryness will be your
 " miserable portion.
 " Be careful how you spend your precious
 " time, for an account must be given of every
 " idle word, though but few regard it; but
 " foolish jesting, and vain talking, are said to
 " grieve the spirit of God; read *Eph. iv. 29,*
 " *30.* But improve your time in prayer, and
 " religious exercises, &c. and be diligent in
 " your lawful callings; for *the desire of the*
 " *slothful man killeth him,* Prov. xxi. 25.
 " Be careful what company you frequent;
 " for a man is commonly known by the com-
 " pany he keeps, as much as by any one out-
 " ward

ward thing; and of your behaviour in company; for I have found that a wife and sober deportment adds much to a man's reputation and credit in the world. CHAP. X.

1699.

“ Watch to the light, and its discoveries of good and evil, that you may not be ignorant of Satan's devices; so the net will be spread in vain in the sight of the bird; for watchfulness will make you in love with a retired estate; and the more truly and perfectly any man knows and understands himself, the better discerning will such have of other men; as in the beginning, when deep silence of all flesh was more in use, the spirit of discerning was more common and quicker than since it hath been neglected; therefore be sure you spend some time (at convenient seasons) in waiting upon God in silence, though it be displeasing to flesh; for I have had more comfort and confirmation in the truth, in my inward retiring in silence, than from all words I have heard from others, though I have often been refreshed by them also.

“ Love the holy scriptures, preferring them to all other books whatsoever; and be careful to read them with an holy awe upon your spirits, lest your imaginations put constructions upon them to your hurt; but exercise faith in the promise of Christ, who hath said, *my spirit shall take of mine, and shew them unto you.*

“ Keep constantly to religious meetings amongst friends; but look to your affections, that you respect not persons, but the power and life of truth, from whomsoever it comes;

“ not

CHAP. “ not minding the tickling of your affections,
 x. “ but the demonstration of the truth to your
 “ understandings and consciences ; for that will
 1699. “ abide, when flashes of affections will fade
 “ and come to nothing, after the words are
 “ ended.

“ Love one another truly, manifesting your
 “ love by good counsel, and being helpful to
 “ each other upon all occasions ; being good
 “ examples to all you converse with, especially
 “ to your children, and those of your own fa-
 “ milies, that pride and vanity may not be
 “ countenanced by you, but rather reprov’d ;
 “ remembering, while they are under your go-
 “ vernment, you must give an account of the
 “ discharge of your duty to God towards
 “ them.

“ Lastly, be always mindful of your latter
 “ end, and live as you would die, not knowing
 “ how soon your days may be finished in this
 “ world : and while you do live in it, despise
 “ not the chastenings of the Lord, whatever
 “ they be, he is pleas’d to visit you withal. I
 “ have been afflicted from my youth up, both
 “ inwardly and outwardly, but the God whom
 “ I served provided for me, when all my out-
 “ ward relations forsook me, none of them giv-
 “ ing me any portion to begin the world
 “ withal. This I speak, to let you know, I
 “ shall leave more outwardly, even to the least
 “ of you, than was left me by all my relations,
 “ &c. I need not mention this sharp affliction
 “ (beyond expression) in my old age, because,
 “ in some measure, you know it ; but I could
 “ not have been without it, as the Lord hath
 “ shewed

“ shewed me, for I have seen his wonders in CHAP.
 “ the deeps : therefore I say again, despise not X.
 “ afflictions, but embrace them as messengers
 “ of peace to your souls (though displeasing to 1699.
 “ the flesh.)

“ These things I commend unto you, out of
 “ true love to your souls, knowing how the
 “ vain mind of man little regards such advice
 “ as this I leave behind me : but by this advice
 “ I shew my true love to you all, desiring God’s
 “ blessing upon it, to whom I commit you all,
 “ my dear children, and end my days.

“ Your loving father and grandfather,

“ JOHN CROOK.

“ Hertford, the first of the
 “ 1st month, 1698-9.”

C H A P. XI.

Further Account of George Keith.—Bishop Burnet's Account of him.—Remarks thereupon.—King James dies, and his Son acknowledged King of England by the French King.—Address of the People called Quakers to King William.—A forged Address published.—Detected by the Publication of the real one.—King William's Death.

C H A P. XI.

1700.
Further account of G. Keith.

GEORGE KEITH, who for some time past had been endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the episcopal clergy, as the most likely means of getting a support, had succeeded in his views so far by his vilifying of the Quakers, and raising expectations of the service he could be of by his influence, in bringing over many of that people to the established church, that about this time he was ordained a priest by the bishop of London, and was employed for the present as a curate. This furnished an occasion for an anonymous publication under the title of *Mr. George Keith's Account of a national Church and Clergy, humbly presented to the Bishop of London*, being a selection from his former works, in which he had treated of the national church, its clergy, rites and ceremonies, to which were added

added some queries he had formerly written CHAP.
 concerning that termed the *Sacrament of the* XI.
Lord's Supper, concluding with these words 1700.
 of the apostle, "if I build again the things
 " which I destroyed, I make myself a trans-
 " gressor."

That the episcopalians, even those called dig-
 nitaries of the church, entertained great hopes
 at this time of the service that this new convert
 might be of in bringing many others to their
 community, appears from the following extract
 from bishop Burnet's history of his own times,
 vol. ii. p. 144, 1700.

" The Quakers have had a great breach made Bishop Burn-
 " among them by one George Keith a Scotch- net's ac-
 " man, with whom I had my education at Aber- count of G.
 " deen, he had been thirty-six years among Keith.
 " them; he was esteemed the most learned man
 " that ever was in that sect; he was well versed
 " both in the oriental tongues, in philosophy
 " and mathematics; after he had been above
 " thirty years in high esteem among them, he
 " was sent to Pennsylvania, (a colony set up by
 " Penn where they are very numerous) to have
 " the chief direction of the education of their
 " youth. In those parts, he said, he first disco-
 " vered that, which had been always denied to
 " him, or so disguised that he did not suspect
 " it; but being far out of reach, and in a
 " place where they were masters, they spoke
 " out their mind plainer, and it appeared to
 " him that they were Deists, and that they turned
 " the whole doctrine of the Christian religion
 " into allegories; chiefly those which relate to
 " the death and resurrection of Christ, and the
 " reconciliation

CHAP. “reconciliation of sinners to God by virtue of
 XI. “his cross; he being a true christian, set him-
 1700. “self with great zeal against this, upon which
 “they grew weary of him, and sent him back to
 “England. At his return he set himself to
 “read many of their books, and then he dis-
 “covered the mystery, which was so hid from
 “him that he had not observed it: Upon this
 “he opened a new meeting, and by a printed
 “summons he called the whole party to come
 “and see the proof that he had to offer, to con-
 “vince them of these errors: Few Quakers
 “came to his meetings, but great multitudes
 “of other people flocked about him; he
 “brought the Quakers books with him, and
 “read such passages out of them as convinced
 “his hearers that he had not charged them
 “falsely; he continued these meetings, being
 “still in outward appearance a Quaker for
 “some years, till having prevailed as far as
 “he saw any probability of success, he laid aside
 “their exterior, *and was reconciled to the church,*
 “*and is now in holy orders among us, and likely*
 “*to do good service in undeceiving and reclaiming*
 “*some of those misled enthusiasts.*”

Remarks
 thereupon.

I think this not the only instance, wherein this prelate hath given occasion to the observation, that he expresseth himself in a manner very dogmatical, in cases wherein he is not well informed. That George Keith was thirty-six years among the Quakers—that he was *sent* to Pennsylvania—that he was sent back by them—are facts plainly mistated. He was by his own account about twenty-eight years amongst them when he first began his open dissent—he re-
 moved

moved to Pennsylvania of his own accord, to CHAP. evade the persecution he was exposed to here— XI.

he returned unsent, and unsent for, to complain to the yearly meeting, &c. These mistakes (though of no great consequence) discover the loose and negligent manner in which Burnet took up and stated matters of fact. The more important objections to the bishop's narrative of this difference having already engaged the attention of our friend Alexander Arscott, in an appendix to his *Serious Considerations*, &c. his remarks thereupon anticipate the necessity of my making many others, being as follow :

“ The only foundation of this story, so far
 “ as concerns the Quakers, was George Keith's
 “ bare relation of it ; for it is introduced with
 “ these words, viz. In those parts, he said, he
 “ first discovered, &c. It does not appear that
 “ the bishop either read or heard what the people
 “ called Quakers had to say for themselves :
 “ and yet as if he certainly knew that George
 “ Keith was perfectly right, and these people
 “ altogether wrong, he pronounces judgment
 “ upon an hearing only *ex parte* ; a method of
 “ proceeding utterly inconsistent with the duty
 “ of a fair historian ; and which he himself, no
 “ doubt, were he living, would loudly exclaim
 “ against, if it concerned himself, or any people
 “ whom he was disposed to favour, or even to
 “ do justice to.

“ It is well known, that the difference between George Keith and his friends in Pennsylvania, was, upon an appeal of his from thence, solemnly heard and debated for many days by the yearly-meeting in London, 1695,
 “ and

CHAP. “ and at last determined in a moderate * cen-
 XI. “ sure upon him; and it cannot be supposed
 1700. “ but

* Which censure was in the following words, viz.
 “ That the said George Keith hath of late been, and yet
 “ is, actuated by an unchristian spirit, which hath moved
 “ and led him to stir up contention and strife in the
 “ church of Christ, and to cause divisions, separations
 “ and breaches among them that profess the truth: and
 “ that the tendency of divers of his late writings and
 “ actions hath been to expose the truth and the friends
 “ thereof to the reproach of the world, did unanimously
 “ agree, and declare it to be the sense and judgment of this
 “ meeting: and it is the sense and judgment of this meet-
 “ ing, that the said George Keith is gone from the blessed
 “ unity of the peaceable spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ,
 “ and hath thereby separated himself from the holy fellow-
 “ ship of the church of Christ, and that whilst he is in
 “ an unreconciled and uncharitable state, he ought not to
 “ preach or pray in any of friends’ meetings, nor be owned
 “ or received as one of us, until by a public and hearty
 “ acknowledgment of the great offence he has given, and
 “ hurt he hath done, and condemnation of himself there-
 “ fore, he gives proofs of his unfeigned repentance, and
 “ does his endeavour to remove and take off the reproach
 “ he hath brought upon truth and friends, which in the love
 “ of God we heartily desire for his soul’s sake.”

From which censure it is evident, that George Keith was not (as the defender of the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry erroneously asserts, p. 98.) “ excommunicated by “ the Quakers, for maintaining the necessity of believing “ in an outward Christ in order to salvation.” Nor does there

“ but that the meeting had some reasons for
 “ such a proceeding. And it is as well known,
 “ that afterwards, though our friends did not
 “ attend his peremptory summons, (chiefly with
 “ regard to the peace and good order of those
 “ cities and places where he was pleased to
 “ mount the stage) yet they followed him
 “ closely from the press: and as all these trans-
 “ actions were public to the world, the bishop
 “ ought either to have said nothing about them,
 “ or more than he has said; either have passed
 “ the whole over in silence, or have given an
 “ impartial summary view of the controversy on
 “ both sides.

CHAP.
 XI.
 1700.

“ But

there appear in the whole censure against, or proceedings
 relating to him, the least footstep of any charge of that na-
 ture. He was disowned for his unchristian and uncharitable
 actions, and for the reproach he had brought upon truth and
 friends, by his slanders and lying accusations, and particu-
 larly, as it is expressed in one part of the proceedings,
 “ His insinuating as if friends only owned the blood of
 “ Christ in a mystical sense.” No wonder then, if Keith,
 being ejected by the Quakers, for his falsehood and abuses
 of them, did, as evil men and seducers used to do, wax
 worse and worse, kept on the exterior of the Quakers, as a
 decoy to draw others after him, so long as he saw any pro-
 bability of success, or outward support; which at length
 failing, he thought meet to be reconciled to a church, qua-
 lified to gratify her new convert with present and constant
 pay, which yet, in his case, was not the reward of righ-
 teousness.

CHAP. " But seeing he has been pleased to be silent
 XI. " on one side, and condemn us as a company
 ~~~~~ " of misled enthusiasts, with his usual air of  
 1700. " contempt, that his readers may not think  
 " our friends had nothing to say in defence  
 " of themselves and doctrines; they are re-  
 " ferred to what was written about that time  
 " by our elder friends, G. Whitehead, T. Ell-  
 " wood, B. Coole, R. Claridge, D. Philips,  
 " and J. Wyeth.

" But we are told, that it appeared to him,  
 " (George Keith) that they (the Quakers) were  
 " Deists, and that they turned the whole doc-  
 " trines of the Christian religion into allego-  
 " ries.

" To the first, that they were Deists: I say he  
 " is inconsistent with himself, for he calls them  
 " afterwards enthusiasts. Deism and enthusiasm  
 " are as opposite as the two poles. The one  
 " denies all revelation; and the other believes  
 " and contends for it to an excess. But to  
 " come more closely to the point, Deism, in the  
 " modern use of that word, is the belief and  
 " profession of natural religion, in opposition to  
 " revelation of all kinds. Christianity, in the  
 " sense of the people called Quakers, is the be-  
 " lief and profession of revealed religion, re-  
 " vealed externally in the holy scriptures, and  
 " internally by the spirit of Christ in the secret  
 " of our hearts: by the first we come to the  
 " knowledge of the facts, doctrines and precepts  
 " of the christian religion; by the last we are  
 " enlightened and assisted to understand, apply  
 " and practise them, for the great ends for  
 " which



“ which they were delivered to the world : so C H A P.  
 “ that religion, in the sense of the Deists, hath XI.  
 “ nothing to do with revelation ; in the Quaker’s 1700.  
 “ sense, it is all revelation, either external or in-  
 “ ternal : a plain contradiction then between  
 “ the one and the other, and consequently they  
 “ cannot be the same, nor be predicated of the  
 “ same person or people. The Quakers there-  
 “ fore cannot be esteemed Deists, which charge  
 “ is so far from being true, that upon their prin-  
 “ ciples only, the very root of Deism is destroy-  
 “ ed, as I have already observed.

“ Again we are told, that it appeared to him,  
 “ George Keith, that the Quakers turned the  
 “ whole doctrines of the christian religion into  
 “ allegories.

“ *Answer.* I can name many of the doctrines  
 “ of the christian religion which they never  
 “ turned into allegories, but have been great  
 “ sufferers for adhering to them in a literal  
 “ sense, as is well known ; so that this charge,  
 “ in the extent of it, is false. But it is not  
 “ denied, that the Quakers writ of some of the  
 “ doctrines of the christian religion in an alle-  
 “ gorical stile, and so did the apostles, even  
 “ those very doctrines he here mentions, which  
 “ relate to the death and resurrection of Christ,  
 “ and the reconciliation of sinners to God by  
 “ virtue of his cross, as may easily be made  
 “ appear by many instances. And the best  
 “ christians in all ages have done the same, as is  
 “ acknowledged by the bishop of London in his  
 “ Pastoral Letter before cited. But neither those  
 “ nor the Quakers did so turn these doctrines  
 “ into allegories, as to destroy their proper  
 “ meanings, or the reality of those facts, which  
 “ are

CHAP. “ are always supposed, and taken as a real founda-  
 XI. “ tion for the allegory, and so professed and  
 “ believed by that people.

1700.

“ Those who have read the writings of our  
 “ friends with an honest disposition to be truly  
 “ informed of their real sentiments, and who  
 “ have conversed with them candidly with the  
 “ same design, have found the truth of this.  
 “ Among whom the learned and pious Dr.  
 “ Henry More was an eminent instance ; who,  
 “ though at first he thought the Quakers carried  
 “ their allegorical way of writing too far, yet  
 “ upon better information from reading and  
 “ conversation with some of them, became very  
 “ much changed into another mind, as hath  
 “ been fully shewn in a late pamphlet, intituled,  
 “ a vindication of the Quakers, or an Answer  
 “ to the Bishop of L———’s charge against  
 “ them, and a late defence of that charge ; to  
 “ which is added, a full and more perfect ac-  
 “ count of the Quakers and the doctrines,  
 “ occasioned by Dr. Henry More’s opinion of  
 “ them ; containing extracts of several letters of  
 “ the doctor to William Penn and others, to  
 “ which the reader is referred ; and more largely  
 “ to the letters themselves, and other passages  
 “ in his life and works.

“ There is also good reason to suppose that  
 “ Dr. Burnet had changed his sentiments of the  
 “ Quakers, when it is well known, that he long  
 “ since published to the world an excellent sys-  
 “ tem of spiritual religion, altogether agreeable  
 “ to their principles, intituled, The Life of God  
 “ in the Soul of Man, or the nature and ex-  
 “ cellency of the Christian Religion, with the  
 “ method of obtaining the happiness which it

“ proposes :

“ purposes: also an account of the beginning and C H A P.  
 “ advances of a spiritual life; with a preface by XI.  
 “ Gilbert Burnet. Wherein he very strongly  
 “ and pathetically recommends that performance, 1700.  
 “ the design of which is to explain the nature  
 “ and properties of true religion, which the au-  
 “ thor calls, p. 4. An union of the soul with  
 “ God, a real participation of the divine nature,  
 “ the very image of God drawn upon the soul,  
 “ or, in the apostle’s phrase, it is Christ form-  
 “ ed in us. Briefly, I know not how the nature  
 “ of religion can be better expressed, than by  
 “ calling it a divine life. The very terms in  
 “ which the Quakers often express themselves on  
 “ the same subject. And therefore as the bishop  
 “ has so fully recommended that work to the  
 “ public, however he might be misled by wrong  
 “ representations of their doctrines, he could not  
 “ be an enemy to the principles of the Quakers  
 “ rightly understood. The whole of that piece  
 “ is penned with that true spirit of religion and  
 “ piety, that I gladly take this opportunity to re-  
 “ commend the perusal of it to all serious Chris-  
 “ tians of all denominations.

“ But to return to George Keith. The bishop  
 “ has told us, after a long detail of his per-  
 “ formances, *that he is now*, in the year 1700,  
 “ *in holy orders among us, and likely to do good*  
 “ *service in undeceiving and reclaiming some of*  
 “ *those misled enthusiasts.* But what if it should  
 “ appear after all, that he deeply repented of  
 “ what he had done? I shall relate what has  
 “ come to my knowledge, and leave the reader  
 “ to judge of the truth of it. The fact as re-  
 “ lated is this: That one Richard Hayler of

CHAP. " Suffex made a visit to George Keith on his  
 XI. " death-bed, which visit was kindly taken by  
 1700. " him; and among other things that passed,  
 " George Keith expressed himself in these words,  
 " viz. *I wish I had died when I was a Quaker,*  
 " *for then I am sure it would have been well*  
 " *with my soul.* This I have from a person now  
 " living, of unquestioned reputation, who had  
 " it from the widow of the said Richard Hayler,  
 " and her sister, both since deceased, but per-  
 " sons of unblemished characters. I shall make  
 " no comment upon the expression, but only  
 " remark, that it stands on as good ground of  
 " credibility, as many thousand matters of fact  
 " that are readily believed without any hesita-  
 " tion, and is altogether as well, what if I say,  
 " better attested, than the bishop's partial rela-  
 " tion of this whole affair, and some other facts  
 " in his history, wherein the characters of all  
 " ranks of people, living and dead, are treat-  
 " ed with an uncommon freedom. I hope,  
 " therefore, I may be excused in this one in-  
 " stance, at a time when George Keith's per-  
 " formances against the Quakers are so much  
 " magnified by the Bishop of L———'s de-  
 " fender, as well as Dr. Burnet, in letting the  
 " world know, that there is reason to believe,  
 " that this conduct of George Keith at last be-  
 " came his burthen, and that he himself did  
 " not approve of it: the consideration of it, I  
 " confess, gives me some secret pleasure, in  
 " hopes, that he that gave him this sight,  
 " might give him also the grace of repent-  
 " ance."



To which I may add, that it appears to me an instance of great weakness or great prejudice for any man to suffer himself to be imposed upon so far, as to receive and record so great an improbability, as that a man could be for the space of twenty-eight years in intimate society with so large a body of people, and never during that time discover their real principles; or that all the members of that society either would or could artfully conceal or disguise their real sentiments from a member who was no novice, but one esteemed by them as a faithful and serviceable member of the same society, and of the same sentiments with themselves.

C H A P.

XI.

1700.

But that he first discovered in America any pretended errors of this people, which he had not the like opportunity of discovering, or which he did not discover long before his removal, and approve and maintain too, is not only improbable, but really untrue.

The matter of controversy between George Keith and friends in America appears clearly to be this, whether the knowledge and belief of the history of Christ's life, death, sufferings, resurrection and ascension be necessary to salvation, to those who have no opportunity or possibility of coming to the knowledge thereof. Now he could not be ignorant that the people called Quakers had always taken the negative side of the question, as esteeming it incompatible with divine justice to condemn a great part of mankind for the mere ignorance of that, which they had no means of attaining the knowledge of. We have seen George Keith join Robert Barclay in his dispute with the students of Aberdeen, in defence of his Theses, the sixth of

CHAP. of which is particular upon the subject; neither  
 XI. was he unacquainted with his more explicit  
 arguments thereupon in his apology. <sup>a</sup> But  
 1700. further George Keith himself in his former  
 writings maintained the same doctrines\*, hav-  
 ing declared it as his sentiment that those  
 men who had not the matter of Christ's out-  
 ward birth, death, resurrection and ascension  
 revealed or made known to them; yet living  
 faithful to what by his light and holy spirit was  
 manifested to them, should be saved, though  
 they died in that state, and that the contrary  
 doctrine was uncharitable, and argued thus upon  
 it; "Why may not the benefit of Christ's  
 "taking upon him the form of man redound  
 "unto many who do not expressly know it, even  
 "as a diseased person may receive benefit of a  
 "cure applied to him, though he have not an  
 "express knowledge of all the means and  
 "ways, how, from first to last, it hath been  
 "prepared."

This being the original subject of George  
 Keith's open dissent, it is evident, it was not in  
 America he first discovered it to be the doctrine of  
 the Quakers, he being well acquainted with it,  
 and having adopted it in England long before,  
 where it was openly professed and vindicated,  
 and never, as far as I have heard or known,  
 denied or disguised, in the least, by any under  
 that name, till he denied it, in contradiction of  
 his former avowed sentiments, both in his public  
 preaching and private discourses; and when it  
 was urged against him how hard it would be  
 upon

<sup>a</sup> S. Smith.

\* See his book, entitled, *The Reæcor corrected*.

upon honest Gentiles, who, though they steered C H A P.  
 ever so exactly by the law written in the heart, XI.  
 must notwithstanding for want of that know- 1700.  
 ledge they had no means of attaining, perish  
 without remedy; he would recur to his capri-  
 cious notion of transmigration, and answer, they  
 could not perish, though they should die in that  
 state; but would have an opportunity to hear  
 the gospel preached, and of being saved thereby  
 in some future revolution \*. I wonder what te-  
 net of the Quakers he could tax with heterodoxy  
 or absurdity equal to this.

This year put a period to the life of king Death of  
 James, who died at the palace of Germaines king James;  
 in France the 17th of September, and upon his son pro-  
 his death his son, by order of the French king, claimed  
 was proclaimed king of the British domini- king of  
 ons. England by  
the French  
king.

As the parliament had just settled the suc-  
 cession to the crown, in Sophia, electress of Ha-  
 novver, and her heirs, in case of the death of  
 king William and the princess of Denmark with-  
 out issue, this interference of a foreign prince  
 to assign another king to England than they  
 chose for themselves, roused the general indig-  
 nation of the people. Addresses were sent up  
 from all quarters expressive of gratitude for the  
 revolution, and loyalty to the king and the  
 house

\* Samuel Smith, from whose manuscript principally I  
 have extracted the narrative of George Keith's proceedings  
 in America, informs us that the substance of the whole is  
 taken from the memorials of Caleb Pusey, a man of undis-  
 puted veracity, an intimate friend of George Keith, before  
 he left the society, and concerned in opposing him afterwards;  
 who wrote these memoirs of transactions, in which he was  
 personally engaged.

CHAP. house of Hanover. Upon this occasion the people  
 XI. called Quakers also, who had heretofore chiefly  
 1701. complaints of grievances to lay before their rulers,  
 from most of which they were effectually delivered  
 by the present sovereign, thought themselves  
 called upon in point of duty and gratitude to wait  
 upon him soon after his return from Holland  
 with the following address, which was presented  
 by George Whitehead, William Mead and Francis  
 Camfield, viz.

Address to  
 king Wil-  
 liam.

“ To King WILLIAM III. over England, &c,


“ An Address from the People commonly called  
 “ Quakers, humbly presented,

“ May it please the King,

“ WE thy dutiful subjects sincerely express  
 “ our joy for thy safe return to thy people, hav-  
 “ ing great cause to love, honour and pray for  
 “ thee, as a prince whom we believe God hath  
 “ promoted and principled for the good ends  
 “ of government, under whose reign we enjoy  
 “ great mercies and favours, and particularly  
 “ that of liberty to tender consciences in reli-  
 “ gious worship, as a proper expedient to unite  
 “ thy protestant subjects in interest and affec-  
 “ tion.

“ For which great mercy we cannot but be  
 “ humbly thankful to God, and renew our  
 “ grateful acknowledgment to the king, whom  
 “ God by his almighty power hath eminently  
 “ preserved, and made exemplary in prudence  
 “ as



“ as well as goodness to other kings and prin- CHAP.  
 “ ces, whereby thy memorial will be renowned XI.  
 “ to posterity. 

We are also engaged to bless the Lord, for that 1701.  
 “ he hath manifestly frustrated the mischievous  
 “ and treacherous designs of thine and the  
 “ nation’s adversaries, both against the lawful  
 “ establishment of thy throne, and the true in-  
 “ terest of thy protestant subjects.

“ And we beseech almighty God to bless the  
 “ good designs and just undertakings of the  
 “ king and his great council, for the good of  
 “ his people, and for obtaining to Europe a firm  
 “ and lasting peace ; and continue thee, O king,  
 “ a blessing to these nations, establish thy throne  
 “ in mercy and truth, give to thee a long and  
 “ prosperous reign over us, and hereafter a glo-  
 “ rious immortality, is, and shall be the fer-  
 “ vent prayer of us, thy true and faithful sub-  
 “ jects.

“ Signed in behalf and by appointment of the  
 “ aforesaid People, at a meeting in London, the  
 “ 8th month, 1701.”

This address was favourably received by the king,  
 who, in answer, replied, “ I have protected you,  
 “ and shall protect you ;” and repairing to his clo-  
 set he perused the said address over again, and it  
 was understood that he expressed his particular ap-  
 probation thereof. <sup>a</sup> But it being some days  
 before it made its appearance in the Gazette, <sup>A forged</sup>  
 some news-writers in the intermediate time (as <sup>an address</sup>  
 had been done in the beginning of king James’s <sup>published.</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Sewel.

C H A P. reign) fabricated a very ridiculous piece, pur-  
 XI. porting to be the address of the people called  
 Quakers to the king, in which the expressions  
 1701. are represented to be so blunt and unmannerly,  
 as bespoke audacity and insolence, rather than  
 the honest simplicity of the Quaker; and in  
 which the fabricator might probably gratify his  
 spleen against the Quakers and his sovereign toge-  
 ther; but the real address being soon after pub-  
 lished detected the forgery.

1702.  
 King Wil-  
 liam's  
 death.

King William's health had been some time on  
 the decline, and a fall from his horse hastened  
 his dissolution. He departed this life at Ken-  
 sington the 8th day of the month called March  
 1702, in the 52d year of his age; leaving deep  
 impressions of gratitude to his memory in the  
 minds of many of his subjects, who were sensi-  
 ble of his important services and the benefits  
 thereof, in rescuing them from the impending  
 danger of a popish government, and securing to  
 them the free and full enjoyment of civil and  
 religious liberty: the dissenters especially, who  
 considered him as their friend and protector for  
 the early and effectual immunities his reign se-  
 cured to them, in exempting them from the pe-  
 nalties of sundry laws, which, in the reigns of  
 his predecessors, had exposed them to a variety  
 of damage and distress.

## C H A P. XII.

## I R E L A N D.

*Care of Friends to preserve their Members from too anxious a pursuit of Riches.—Sentiments of Friends in Ireland in respect to the Affirmation.—Their Zeal and Care in supporting Discipline.—William Penn, Thomas Story and John Everot visit Ireland.—Meetings largely attended.—John Plympton publishes an abusive Paper.—Complaint against him.—Meeting at Cashell ordered to disperse.—William Penn's Conference with the Bishop thereupon.—The Bishop writes to the Lords Justices.—A Province Visit performed.—Epistle from the Province-meeting at Castle-dermot.*

PEACE being restored to this nation, plenty and prosperity quickly followed. This fruitful island, thinned of its inhabitants by the late war, both by the number who fled for refuge to other countries, and the number who perished, afforded those who kept their habitations and survived, who had been despoiled of all their property, and had felt all the distress of penury and scarcity during that calamitous time, an opportunity of soon emerging from a state of want to plenty, and from poverty to competency and to affluence, even beyond what could be expected

C H A P.

XII.

1692.

CHAP. XII. 1692. pected in the usual course of things. Both agriculture and commerce being in few hands, and the former applied to fertile land, which returned great increase with little labour, more than sufficient for the support of the remaining inhabitants, especially in the fine grazing lands; and the latter employed in the exportation of the superfluity to advantage, soon presented a tempting bait to pursue the accumulation of property with ardour. And now a second generation being risen and arising amongst this society, who held the profession as the religion of their education, and not by the purchase of giving up all for his sake, as their predecessors had done, too many of these appeared in danger of being carried away with the stream, and of being drawn aside by the tempting prospect into an inordinate pursuit of wealth, beyond the limits of a truly religious disposition, and to the obstruction of their growth in religious experience.

Care of  
friends to  
preserve  
their mem-  
bers from  
too anxious  
a pursuit of  
riches.

Yet the main body of the society consisted of some of the old stock who still survived, and several of the present generation, who actuated by a serious concern for their eternal well-being, sought it in the way of self denial and the daily cross, as their elder brethren and fathers had done; and made the religion of their education that of their judgment, and the rule of their conduct in life. These clearly perceiving the injurious consequences likely to arise to the present and future generation by indulging this worldly disposition, and the danger of friends and their posterity resuming the spirit and customs of this world, from which their fathers had been redeemed, by which means they might be led



led into forgetfulness of the eminent care of <sup>C H A P.</sup> providence, who had in great mercy preserved <sup>XII.</sup> them safe through all the late seasons of calamities, on these considerations were incited in point of duty as faithful watchmen to give timely warning of the danger. Many admonitions and exhortations from their meetings of discipline were sent forth for exciting their friends to vigilance, and to keep within the limits of pure religion in their temporal engagements, and under the guidance of divine grace, which would teach them to deny all ungodliness, and worldly lusts. In this pious concern they were encouraged by the consolation with which they were favoured therein, and endued with wisdom in directing their measures for preventing the progress of this worldly spirit; so that their zealous endeavours were attended with a good effect.

It was in the year 1693 that an application to the parliament of England, to request their indulgence to the people called Quakers, in accepting their solemn affirmation instead of an oath, was first undertaken to be made by friends of that nation, which when their brethren in Ireland understood, they took the brotherly freedom of writing an epistle on the subject, to the meeting of sufferings in London, desiring that Christ's own words, *yea* and *nay* might be adhered to, if possible, recommending rather to exercise patience, and wait God's time, to open a clear and free way for their assertion of the truth, than to accept such a form of affirmation, as might bring a snare or burden upon any tender consciences, by appearing in any degree similar to an oath.

Sentiments  
of friends of  
Ireland, in  
respect to  
the affirma-  
tion.

And in the year 1695, when the government of England was pleased to favour them with an  
act

CHAP.

XII.

1695.

1696.

Their zeal  
and care in  
maintaining  
the disci-  
pline.

act of parliament, prescribing a form of an affirmation instead of an oath; although it was rather dissatisfactory to many friends in Ireland, by reason of the sacred name being comprised therein, which they considering as an appeal to the divine Being, thought it bordered too near upon an oath, and were not free to use it. Others less scrupulous, gratefully accepted the favour, conceiving it only in the light of a very solemn affirmation. This difference of judgment however was productive of no schism; but the spirit of christian charity and mutual forbearance appeared conspicuously amongst the members of this society at this time. Those who scrupled the use thereof, not harshly judging those who were free to use it, and these latter sympathising in the difficulty under which the tenderness of their consciences brought others of their brethren, were earnestly disposed to co-operate with them in procuring an universal ease to all the members.

When they met at the next yearly meeting of London, an edifying harmony appeared amongst the friends of both nations, and it was resolved unanimously to solicit government, as soon as providence should open the way, for granting a form of affirmation, which might be easy to all.

As this society became numerous in that nation, the advantage and necessity of a salutary discipline had become obvious, and was immediately adopted by friends there, upon the notice of its being established by their brethren in England, and without any of that opposition, which occasioned so much trouble to their said brethren; the benefits of the religious and brotherly care for each other, during the late war, having been evidently manifested, had confirmed the

the

the judgment of friends generally in favour of a zealous exertion of care and endeavours for the preservation of friends in the uniform practice of piety and virtue, and the cultivation of a pure and religious disposition in their minds, as well as to relieve and help them in their outward circumstances, which at this time were so remarkable, as to gain the commendation of most friends, who were engaged in the love of the gospel to visit them.

C H A P.  
XII.  
1696.

John Gratton, of Moneyash, in Derbyshire, in particular, an able minister, visiting Ireland this year, hath in his journal left the following testimony concerning them.

That, “ there was great love, peace, and concord amongst them, and good order and government in a careful oversight of the flock, that friends be careful in all respects, to keep their profession without blame, and particularly that none run inordinately after the world, or break in other men’s debts.”

And friends of Bristol, in an epistle from their men’s meeting, express their approbation in the following terms :

“ Your love to the holy cross of our Lord Jesus, and your zeal for promoting the way thereof, by a strict and close discipline, is that which is much wanted in many places; and though ignorant and malicious spirits may (as they have done) carp at it, and cry out against it as an imposition on conscience, God Almighty hath blocked up their way, and spoiled the spoiler, and manifested their folly to all, the necessity of a holy care in the church, more and more daily appearing.”

But the amplest testimony of approbation, is that

CHAP. that of William Penn, who in company with  
 XII. John Everot and Thomas Story, set out from  
 Bristol, at that time the place of his residence, in  
 1698. the 2d month 1698, to visit friends in Ireland.  
 William Penn, Tho- They landed in Dublin, the 6th of 3d month  
 mas Story, and John O. S. and the half year's meeting began on the  
 Everot visit Ireland. 8th, wherein Thomas Story writes, they were  
 greatly comforted, not only in the enjoyment of  
 the divine presence; but also in observing the  
 unity, mildness, and order, which appeared  
 among Friends, in the management of the affairs  
 of the church in that meeting.

Meetings  
 largely at-  
 tended.

The resort of people of all ranks, qualities,  
 and professions to the meetings, was very great,  
 chiefly to hear William Penn, who was furnished  
 with matter to answer their expectations, and  
 his preaching gained the assent and commendation  
 of the audience in a general way. Many  
 of the clergy attended amongst others, and  
 amongst them the Dean of Derry, who being  
 at several meetings, was asked by his bishop,  
 whether he heard any thing but blasphemy  
 and nonsense, and whether he took off his hat  
 in time of prayer; to which he replied, that he  
 heard no blasphemy nor nonsense, but sub-  
 stantial truth; and did not only take off his  
 hat at prayer, but his heart said Amen thereto.

Here they met with John Plympton, a tenacious baptist teacher, whose pertinacity in opposition and envy, William Penn had experienced before in a dispute at Melksham, in Wiltshire. This person had published a very  
 J. Plympton publishes an abusive paper. invidious and abusive paper against friends in  
 general, and William Penn in particular, in  
 intemperance of language outraging common  
 civility.

Upon



Upon this several persons applied to the chief <sup>C H A P.</sup> elders and the meeting of that people, to inform <sup>XII.</sup> themselves whether this work was with their <sup>1698.</sup> consent or approbation; and they, with becoming candour and concern, disclaimed having any hand in it, but that it was altogether Plympton's own work, and disowned him therein. So looking upon him as a wrangler, they thought him not worthy of notice at that time: But afterwards William Penn publishing a paper, entitled *Gospel truths held by the people called Quakers*, subscribed by himself and three others of his friends, Plympton's enmity was roused again to appear in print in a piece to which he prefixed the invidious title of *The Quaker no Christian*. William Penn also reprinted the 8th and 9th chapters of his *Primitive Christianity revived*, which clearly exposed to the public the falsity of Plympton's charges and reflections.

Complaint  
against him  
to the elders  
of the bap-  
tists.

William  
Penn pub-  
lishes a pa-  
per, entitled  
*Gospel truths*  
&c.

In the course of his visit, coming to the city of Cork, William Penn paid a visit to the bishop, and presented him with the abovesaid paper, called *Gospel truths*, which he seemed to receive favourably, but afterwards, unexpectedly, published some exceptions against it; to which William Penn, after his coming back to England, replied in, A defence of a paper entitled *Gospel truths* against the exceptions of the bishop of Cork.

I look upon it as unnecessary to attend them through the whole course of their visit; but only to take notice of one or two remarkable occurrences.

At Ross, in the county of Wexford, they met with an interruption in their journey: There was a law at that time in Ireland, that

Horses sei-  
zed at Ross,

CHAP. no Papist should possess a horse of the value of  
 XII. 5l. 5s. or upward; that any horse being in  
 1698. possession of one of that denomination, any protestant making information thereof, and tendering the owner 5l. 5s. before a magistrate, might possess himself of such horse: And all to be deemed papists, who should refuse to take the oaths, and subscribe the declaration, upon tender thereof.

Two officers, quartered in Ross, thought to avail themselves of this law, by seizing these friends' horses, and obtained a warrant from the sovereign of Ross, for that purpose, denominated the friends papists, within the construction of the act, because they held it unlawful to take an oath.

By this warrant the horses of four of the friends were seized, but two returned, being worth little more than 5l. 5s. but the horses of William Penn and his son they detained, being of much greater value; whereupon two friends, Joseph Pike, of Cork, and Thomas Cuppage, of Lambstown, went to the magistrate, and took out a replevin; Thomas Cuppage giving bond to stand the trial, by which they regained possession of the horses. The disappointed officers, enraged hereat, threatened what they would expend at law; but were prevented of giving the friends any further trouble.

For William Penn wrote to the Lords Justices an account of this transaction, who immediately let these officers know their displeasure at their disingenuous proceedings, by ordering them to be confined to their chambers: And being apprehensive of the consequence, they procured application to be made to William Penn,

Penn, to entreat him to write again for their release, and to prevent their being broke, who finding them brought to a sense of their error, readily complied with their request; upon which they were released and forgiven, for which they appeared very thankful. Thus terminated this business, without much inconvenience to the friends concerned, further than preventing some of them from reaching Waterford in time, to the meeting they had appointed there.

Proceeding in their journey to Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, they met John Vaughton and Samuel Waldenfield, from London: And being the first day of the week, the meeting was crowded by a multitude of people of various notions and ranks in that place. The

At Cashel  
they meet  
John Vaughton and  
Samuel Waldenfield.

meeting being gathered, the mayor of the town, with constables, &c. came, by direction of the bishop of the place, and commanded them, in the King's name, to disperse, though he could not get into the house for the throng. John Vaughton, upon this, remarked "that he, with

Here the  
meeting is  
attempted  
to be dispersed  
by the  
mayor, by  
the bishop's  
direction.

"some other friends, had, upon a late occasion, been admitted into the King's presence; and the King was pleased to ask, if we had full liberty in all his dominions to exercise our religion without molestation, and we, not knowing any thing to the contrary, answered in the affirmative. To which the King was pleased to reply, that if any did disturb us therein, to make it known to him, and he would protect us. And here thou disturbest our meeting, and commandest us, in the King's name, to disperse; but I appeal to this audience, whether we should obey thee without

CHAP. "law, or gratefully accept the King's protection  
XII. "according to law."

~~~~~  
1698. To this Thomas Story added, "that the high
priests, scribes, and pharisees, of old, were the
"greatest enemies of Christ and his apostles;
"and that generally where mischief appeared
"in any nation, that set of men, in every form,
"were at the bottom of it, and so it is still to
"this day."

Yet the
meeting is
held to sa-
tisfaction.

William Penn, being detained in writing some letters of importance, while the meeting was gathering, had not yet come in; but taking an opportunity to speak with the mayor, (whom he treated with the respect due to his office) he requested him to go, and let the bishop know, he would wait upon him at his own house, after meeting, and desired his patience until then. The mayor assented and withdrew: And then William Penn went into the meeting. The meeting was much favoured, and every instrument fitted for his share of the labour; and the people generally satisfied with what they heard and felt.

William
Penn's con-
ference
with the Bi-
shop.

The meeting being ended, William Penn, taking two or three friends along with him, went to the bishop, with whom he expostulated concerning that transaction, telling him "it
"looked a little extraordinary, as the case then
"stood, when a general liberty was granted
"by law, to the King's subjects in all his do-
"minions." The bishop treated William Penn in a friendly manner, and, in his excuse, said, "that he went that morning to church,
"as usual; and, when there, had no body to
"preach to but the mayor, church-wardens,
"some constables and the walls, the people
"being

“being all gone to your meeting; which, I CHAP.
 “confess, said he, made me a little angry; and XII.
 “I sent the mayor and constables with that
 “message, in hopes by that means to procure 1698.
 “a greater auditory; though I have no ill will
 “to you, or those of your profession.” And
 they parted in seeming friendship.

But afterwards, recollecting that his proceeding could not be justified under the present laws, except the meeting had been attended with some extraordinary and unlawful circumstances; the bishop to apologize for his conduct, wrote to the lords justices, to inform them, though causelessly, “that Mr. Penn and the Quakers had gathered that day such a multitude of people, and *so many armed papists*, that it struck a terror into him and the town; and not knowing what might be the consequence, he had sent the mayor and other magistrates to disperse them; but seeing they had taken no notice of him, or the civil powers there, he thought it his duty to lay the matter before their lordships, that such remedy might be applied, as in their wisdom they might think proper, to obviate the danger and ill consequences of such assemblies.”

When William Penn and his companions arrived at Cork, finding the lords justices arrived there before them, William Penn, for whom they had entertained a great regard, went to pay them a visit: After mutual salutations, the earl of Galway gave him the bishop of Cashel’s letter to read, which having done, he related to them the real circumstances of the case, telling them, “that he did not see any armed persons there, unless here and there a gentleman
 “might

The Bishop writes to the Lords Justices an exaggerating account of the meetings.

CHAP. "might have a sword, as usual; but that he
 XII. "knew nothing of what religion they were."
 { Then the earl, calling the bishop "old dotard!"
 1698. said, "why should he make all this ado upon
 "so common an occasion." And that was all
 the forward man got by busying himself beyond
 his sphere.

From Lambstown, in the county of Wexford, they wrote the following epistle to the yearly meeting in London, conveying an account of their service, and the state of their religious society in that nation.

To the Yearly Meeting at L O N D O N.

"Dear Friends and Brethren,

"It is not the least of our exercises, that we
 "are thus far outwardly separated from you, at
 "this time of your holy and blessed solemnity:
 "But because we have good reason to believe
 "it is in the will of God, we humbly submit to
 "his ordering hand, and with open arms of
 "deep and tender love, embrace you our
 "living and loving brethren, who are given up
 "to serve the lord in your generation, and that
 "have long preferred *Jerusalem*, and the peace
 "and prosperity of her borders, above your
 "chiefest joy. The salutation of our endeared
 "brotherly love in *Christ Jesus* is unto you,
 "desiring that he may richly appear among you
 "in power, wisdom, and love, to guide your
 "judgments and influence your spirits, in this
 "weighty and anniversary assembly, that so
 "nothing may appear or have place among you,
 "but what *singly seeks the honour of the Lord*,
 "the

“ *the exaltation of his truth, and the peace and* CHAP.
 “ *establishment of his heritage.* For this, brethren, XII.
 “ you and we know, has been the aim, end
 “ and practice of those whom the Lord hath
 “ made willing to forsake and give up all for
 “ his name’s sake, and through various exercises
 “ and tribulations, yea in the way of the daily
 “ cross, and through the fight and baptism of
 “ many afflictions, to have their conversation
 “ and sojourning here below upon the earth,
 “ in fear and love, looking for their reward in
 “ the heavens that shall never pass away, who
 “ have not been lifted up by good report,
 “ nor cast down by evil report, from their
 “ love to the Lord and his precious truth, but
 “ hold on their way, whose hands being clean
 “ of evil things towards all men, have waxed
 “ stronger and stronger in the Lord. Wherefore,
 “ dear brethren, let us all be found in the same
 “ steps, and walking in the same way, not being
 “ high-minded, but fearing the Lord, that we may
 “ serve him through our generation in dili-
 “ gence and faithfulness, and so enter into the rest
 “ that God has reserved for his true travellers
 “ and labourers in his vineyard.

And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord
 “ hath brought us well into this kingdom of
 “ *Ireland*, and given us many large and blessed
 “ opportunities in several parts, meetings being
 “ crowded by people of all ranks and persuasions,
 “ especially at *Dublin*, who, for ought we have
 “ heard, have given the truth a good report;
 “ and indeed the Lord has mightily appeared
 “ for his own name, and owned us with a more
 “ than ordinary presence, suitable to the occa-
 “ sions, and made very heavy and hard things
 “ easy to us, because of the glory of his power,
 “ with

CHAP. XII. 1698. “ with which he assisted us in our needful times,
 “ for which our souls bow before him, and bless,
 “ reverence and praise his holy and worthy name.
 “ So that, dear brethren, we have good tidings
 “ to give you of truth’s prosperity at large, and
 “ more especially in the churches, having had
 “ the comfort of the general meeting of this
 “ nation, consisting of many weighty brethren
 “ and sisters, from all parts thereof, which was
 “ held in the city of *Dublin* in much love,
 “ peace and unity for several days, wherein we
 “ had occasion to observe their commendable
 “ care for the prosperity of the blessed truth,
 “ in all the branches of its holy testimony,
 “ both in the general and in the particular,
 “ *improving the good order* practised among the
 “ churches of Christ *in our nation*.

“ Indeed their simplicity, gravity, and cool-
 “ ness in managing their church affairs ; their
 “ diligence in meetings, both for worship and
 “ business ; their dispatch in ending differences
 “ and expedients to prevent them ; but espe-
 “ cially their zeal against *covetousness* and in-
 “ difference in truth’s service, and *exemplary care*
 “ to discourage *an immoderate concern in pursuit of*
 “ *the things of this life*, and to excite friends to
 “ do good with what they have, very greatly
 “ comforted us, and in the sweet and blessed
 “ power of Christ Jesus the meeting ended,
 “ and friends departed. The Lord grant that
 “ you may also make the same purpose the travail
 “ of your souls, and end of your labour and ser-
 “ vice of love, who seek not your *own things*,
 “ but the *things of Jesus Christ*, in this your
 “ solemn general meeting,

“ And,

“ And, dear brethren, we must tell you, C H A P.
 “ here is room enough for true labourers in XII.
 “ God’s vineyard, and cannot well forbear 1698.
 “ to recommend the service of truth, in this
 “ nation, to your serious consideration, if haply
 “ the Lord may put into the hearts of any faith-
 “ ful and weighty brethren, to visit it in the
 “ word of eternal life; for we cannot but say,
 “ the harvest appears to us to be great, and the
 “ labourers in comparison but a few. So in
 “ that love which many waters cannot quench,
 “ nor distance wear out of our remembrances,
 “ and in which we desire to be remembered
 “ of you to the Lord of our household, we
 “ dearly and tenderly salute you, and remain

“ Your loving and faithful brethren,

“ WILLIAM PENN,
 “ JOHN EVEROTT,
 “ THOMAS STORY.”

“ Lambstown, 2d of the
 4th Month, 1698.”

This epistle confirms the truth of the pre-
 ceding remarks concerning the care of friends
 in Ireland, to guard the members of their soci-
 ety against an immoderate engagement in tem-
 poral pursuits, which seems to have been an
 earnest and growing concern: For about this
 time a general provincial visit was appointed
 and performed, i. e. a visit to every particular
 men’s meeting through each province, in order
 to enquire into the state of each meeting; and
 how the wholesome exhortations and admoni-
 tions, imparted from the half year’s meetings,
 had

A provinci-
 al visit per-
 formed.

CHAP. had been put in practice; and an account was
 XXI. returned to the succeeding national meeting, of
 the great satisfaction and comfort, which the
 1698. friends concerned were favoured with in their
 service, under the feeling of divine assistance
 with them; and finding a condescending tem-
 per of mind in those that were visited, so as to
 receive their advice with cordiality, and readily
 to comply therewith; some of whom had been
 prevailed with to lessen their outward concerns,
 that their moderation might appear, and they
 be more at liberty in body and mind to attend to
 the important work of salvation, and to fill
 up their places in society with greater fidelity;
 others, who were possessed of large holdings of
 lands, to accommodate their poorer brethren,
 who wanted smaller tracts at reasonable rates.

Epistle from
 the province
 meeting at
 Castledermot,
 against
 the inordi-
 nate cares
 of this life.

They also published and dispersed an epistle
 from the province meeting of Leinster, held at
 Castledermot, the 9th, 10th, and 11th days of
 7 month this year, on the same subject, which
 affords us a specimen of the spirit and senti-
 ments of the faithful elders of this time, and
 of the just conceptions they had of christian
 simplicity and self-denial, taking it in its proper
 latitude and extent; not confining it, as too
 many are ready to surmise, to superfluities of
 apparel, or a peculiar mode of speech and ad-
 dress; but extending it to every object of pur-
 suit, so far as it is intemperately followed, to the
 obstruction of our progress in religion, and the
 carrying away the mind from the steady pursuit
 of those things that conduce to our peace.
 The cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of
 riches, they considered to be as dangerous snares
 to the men of great business, as airiness of de-
 portment,

portment, and fondness for pleasure and vanity CHAP. XII.
 are to the youthful and inconsiderate; that the good seed was as effectually hindered from bringing forth fruit in the thorny, as in the highway or stony ground, in the parable. And we must admit it to be a standing evidence of the spiritual wisdom, and foresight of these men, that the pernicious effects of the unbounded love and pursuit of temporal treasures upon the spiritual prosperity of our christian society, have been too manifestly confirmed by the event in succeeding times. This epistle is recorded at length in Dr. Rutt's history, to which I refer; but the preface, written by Thomas Trafford, and the postscript, by William Edmundson, the former explaining the motives and authority of the friends in their concern, and the latter briefly recapitulating the subject, I think not unworthy of introducing in this place, as a specimen of the sense and judgment of our friends of this age and place.

Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. 1 John ch. ii. 15.

P R E F A C E.

“ Dear Friends,

“ The following epistle is recommended to
 “ be read in the fear of the Lord, in which, I
 “ doubt not, you will have a sense of the religious care and concern, which the Lord hath
 “ raised in the minds of some of his faithful
 “ elders, for the good and preservation of his
 “ heritage.

CHAP.

XII.

1698.

“ heritage. But if there be any amongst our-
 “ selves or others, not acquainted with our
 “ christian discipline, who, for want of truly
 “ seeing the great danger and hurt that hath
 “ attended the professors of Christianity, by un-
 “ bounded desires, and pursuit after the things
 “ of this world, shall censure our christian care,
 “ as if we went about to exercise lordship over
 “ one another, or would hinder or limit such
 “ industrious and capable persons, who in the
 “ fear of God, and in moderation, do improve
 “ the creation in general, or their own worldly
 “ talents in particular, which God hath been
 “ pleased to give them; I say, if any shall thus
 “ judge of our godly care and endeavours, let
 “ all such know they are mistaken, and that no
 “ such thing is intended. But as a people
 “ whom the Lord hath made sensible of the
 “ many snares that do attend, and the loss some
 “ have sustained by the insatiable desire, and too
 “ eager pursuit after the lawful things of this
 “ world, we felt a concern to attend our minds,
 “ that, if possible, we might be limited within
 “ the bounds of truth, which leads to modera-
 “ tion and content; and to depend upon the
 “ providential hand of the Lord, that will afford
 “ us what we stand in need of, rather than in-
 “ dulse an inordinate desire after accumulating
 “ a superfluity of wealth, or pursuing after the
 “ gain of this world’s goods.

“ And now, dear friends and brethren, this
 “ brotherly caution arises in my heart to you,
 “ who were eye-witnesses and partakers of that
 “ wonderful and eminent, bowing power and
 “ presence of the Lord God, that appeared
 “ amongst us at that meeting, that none who
 “ were

“ were witnesses thereof, and thereby brought
 “ into a lively sense of the great danger attending
 “ that mind, that would be going after covet-
 “ ousness, may give the least way thereto, or
 “ enter into reasoning with flesh and blood,
 “ by which you will lose the sense you then had
 “ of that spirit, and be in danger of becoming
 “ monuments of God’s displeasure. But, on
 “ the contrary, keep to the guidance of God’s
 “ spirit in yourselves, which will limit your
 “ desires after the lawful things of this world
 “ within the bounds of moderation, which is
 “ the earnest desire of one, who desires the
 “ good and preservation of all, in that, which
 “ will tend to the glory of God, and bring ever-
 “ lasting comfort in the end.

CHAP.
 XII.
 1698.

“ THOMAS TRAFFORD.”

POSTSCRIPT.

“ At the first, when the Lord called and ga-
 “ thered us to be a people, and opened the eyes
 “ of our understandings, then we saw the ex-
 “ ceeding sinfulness of sin, and the wickedness
 “ that was in the world; and a perfect abhor-
 “ rence was fixed in our hearts against all the
 “ wicked, unjust, vain, ungodly, unlawful part
 “ of the world in all respects; and we saw the
 “ goodly and most glorious lawful things of the
 “ world to be abused: And that many snares
 “ and temptations lay in them, and many trou-
 “ bles and dangers of divers kinds; and we felt
 “ the load of them, and that we could not carry
 “ them and run the race the Lord had set before
 “ us

CHAP. " us so cheerfully as to win the prize of our
 XII. " salvation ; so that our care was to cast off this
 ~~~~~ " great load and burden of our great and gainful  
 1699. " ways of getting riches, and to lessen our con-  
 " cerns therein, to the compass that we might  
 " not be chargeable to any in our stations and  
 " services required of us, and be ready to answer  
 " Christ Jesus our captain that called us to follow  
 " him in a spiritual warfare, under the discipline  
 " of his daily cross and self-denial ; and then  
 " the things of this world were of small value  
 " with us, so that we might win Christ, and the  
 " goodliest things of the world were not near us,  
 " so that we might be near the Lord, and the  
 " Lord's truth outbalanced all the world, even  
 " the most glorious part of it. Then great tra-  
 " ding was a burthen, and great concerns a  
 " great trouble ; all needless things, fine houses,  
 " rich furniture, and gaudy apparel, was an  
 " eye-sore ; our eye being single to the Lord,  
 " and the inshining of his light in our hearts,  
 " which gave us the sight of the knowledge of  
 " the glory of God, which so affected our minds,  
 " that it stained the glory of all earthly things,  
 " and they bore no mastery with us, either in  
 " dwelling, eating, drinking, buying, selling,  
 " marrying, or giving in marriage ; the Lord  
 " was the object of our eye, and we all humble  
 " and low before him, and self of small repute ;  
 " ministers and elders in all such cases walking  
 " as good examples, that the flock might follow  
 " their footsteps as they followed Christ in the  
 " daily cross and self-denial in their dwellings,  
 " callings, eating, drinking, buying, selling,  
 " marrying, and giving in marriage : And this  
 " answered the Lord's witness in all consci-  
 " ences,

“ences, and gave us great credit amongst CHAP.  
“men.” XII.

“And as our number increased, it happened  
“that such a spirit came in amongst us, as was  
“amongst the Jews when they came out of  
“*Egypt*, and this began to look back into the  
“world, and traded with the credit which was  
“not of its own purchasing, and striving to be  
“great in the riches and possessions of this world;  
“and then, great, fair buildings in city and  
“country, fine and fashionable furniture, and  
“apparel equivalent, with dainty and voluptuous  
“provision, with rich matches in marriage,  
“far wide from the footsteps of the mini-  
“sters and elders the Lord raised and sent  
“forth into his work and service at the begin-  
“ning; and far short of the example our Lord  
“and master Jesus Christ left us, when he was  
“tempted in the wilderness with the offer of all  
“the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of  
“them, and despised them: And Moses, that  
“refused to be called the son of Pharaoh’s  
“daughter, and rather chose affliction with the  
“Lord’s people, having a regard to the recom-  
“pence of reward. And the holy apostle writes  
“to the church of Christ, both fathers, young  
“men and children, and advises against the  
“love of the world, and the fashions thereof:  
“And it is working as the old leaven at this  
“very time, to corrupt the heritage of God,  
“and to fill it with briars, thorns, thistles and  
“tares, and the grapes of the earth, to make  
“the Lord reject it, and lay it waste. But the  
“Lord of all our mercies, whose eye hath been  
“over us for good since he gathered us to be  
“a people, and entered into covenant with us,

“according

1699.

C H A P.

XII.

1699.

“ according to his ancient promise, is lifting up,  
 “ his spirit as a standard against the invasion of  
 “ this enemy, and is raising up his living word  
 “ and testimony in the hearts of many, to stand  
 “ in the gap which this floating, high, worldly,  
 “ libertine spirit hath made, and that is gone  
 “ from the footsteps of them that follow Christ  
 “ as at first, and know him, to bound them,  
 “ and to keep in his bounds; and not in their  
 “ own will and time lay hold on presentations  
 “ and opportunities that may offer to get riches,  
 “ which many have had and refused for truth’s  
 “ sake, and the Lord hath accepted as an offering,  
 “ and rewarded to their great comfort, and to  
 “ the praise of his great name.

“ WILLIAM EDMUNDSON.”

1700.

This year died James Greenwood, and Ann his wife, of Grange, in the county of Antrim, a faithful couple, being of one spirit (as well as joined together in the covenant of marriage) wherein they were true help-meets to one another, being endowed with many spiritual gifts and graces, which they, as good stewards, faithfully improved to the honour of the great Giver, and the benefit and comfort of his people. They were of such a just and upright conversation, fearing the Lord and eschewing evil, that the truth they professed was honoured by them; their hearts being seasoned by the heavenly grace, so that they were as the favoury salt, among those with whom they were conversant, being of a grave and weighty deportment, aiming at the glory of  
 God



and the good of souls in their concerns. They were strict observers of the apostle's exhortation, not to forget to entertain strangers, their house and hearts being open to receive the travelling servants of the Lord ; for which service they were well qualified, administering to them spiritual help and assistance, as well as outward entertainment. James being for many years infirm in body, was unable to travel much abroad ; but Ann being healthy, both in body and mind, was frequently serviceable at the general meetings of friends, where she appeared in such sweetness and evenness of temper, so savoury, grave, deliberate and reaching in her expressions, that such as were in the service with her, were much strengthened and encouraged, by the excellent fruits of the divine spirit that appeared through her, both in doctrine, discipline, and conversation. Her words in her testimony were but few and not forwardly expressed, she being careful not to run before her guide, but to observe divine conduct, under which her example was a check to forward and rash appearances ; yet she was a nursing mother to the young and tender, a refresher of the weary, an encourager of the distressed, and was endued with heavenly wisdom, and a taking way of expression and gesture in conference, that even disorderly and obstinate persons were oftentimes won upon by her. They both died in the same year, in great resignation and assurance of peace with God.

C H A P.  
XII.  
1710.

## C H A P. XIII.

## A M E R I C A.

*Account of John Delaval.—Ditto of Thomas Lloyd.—Robert Wardel and Robert Barrow visit America.—Robert Wardel dies in Jamaica.—Account of Robert Barrow.—His Imprisonments and Sufferings in England.—His Visits to Ireland.—His Shipwreck in the Gulf of Florida.—The Succession of grievous Calamities which he and the Company endured amongst the Indians, and on the way to Augustine.—He arrives at Philadelphia in a very weak State, and three Days after dies there.—Some of the Partisans of George Keith continue to be troublesome.—Several others of them return to the Society.—Caleb Wheatley's Acknowledgment.—Epistle to the yearly Meeting.—Account of Welsh Settlers.—Visit of Thomas Story and Roger Gill.—Epidemical Distemper in Philadelphia.—Roger Gill dies of it.—William Penn's second Voyage to Pennsylvania.*

C H A P. XIII. **I**N the latter end of 1693, died John Delaval, who, in the early settlement of these provinces, was a captain of militia at New-York, and being convinced there, about the time that Thomas Musgrave and Jonathan Tyler visited those parts, after some time he appeared in the ministry, and removed

1693.  
Account of  
John Dela-  
val.

removed to Philadelphia, where he continued his residence, except when he travelled in the work of the ministry. He is said to have been partly concerned with George Keith, in answering Cotton Mather, and in his latter time in controversy with the said George Keith also. His benevolence and universal spirit procured the public esteem; he maintained an amiable character, and kept his integrity to the day of his death.

In this year Thomas Lloyd, deputy governor of Pennsylvania, finished his course in this life. He was younger brother to Charles Lloyd, of Dolobran, in Montgomeryshire; descended from a family of repute and good estate, of the rank of gentry in their native country. His father, a man of great esteem, gave him an education suitable to his rank in life, at the best schools his country afforded, and afterwards sent him to the university of Oxford, to complete his studies; in which his proficiency procured him a degree of distinction above many of his fellows. His natural abilities thus improved by the acquisition of useful knowledge, recommended him to the regard of many persons of superior rank, by whom he was proffered posts of preferment; but being favoured with a religious turn of mind, he was enlightened to discern the vanity and the danger of worldly honours and dignities; and being about the same time convinced of the truth of the doctrines of the people called Quakers, he, like Moses, chose rather to suffer affliction in the way of peace, than barter it for eminence, preferment, and riches in this world. Being endued with strength and resolution to take up the daily cross and deny himself, whereby

1693.

1694.  
Account of  
Thomas  
Lloyd.

CHAP. his natural will and affections were crucified,  
 XIII. the wisdom that is from beneath was made of  
 no reputation with him, in comparison of the  
 1694. favour of his creator, and the attaining of peace  
 of mind, which he perceived was only to be  
 attained by a life of virtue and religious dedica-  
 tion of heart to the service of God, and the  
 doing of his will, as far as he should be favoured  
 with light to discover it. Under these impressi-  
 ons he attained fortitude to become a fool for  
 Christ's sake, and to endure the contempt atten-  
 dant on the profession he had adopted, to become  
 the object of the censure and wonder of his former  
 acquaintances.

Thus leaving the vanities, the pleasure and honour of the world behind him, and following the guidance of the spirit of truth, he experienced the gradual work of sanctification, and the unfolding the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, whereby he received qualification to become an able minister of the gospel; and his distinguished abilities natural and acquired were sanctified, and applied to the best purpose, the promoting of religion and righteousness, wherever his influence extended; both in the land of his nativity, and the American plantations. Before his removal to America he was frequently and successively engaged in controversy in defiance of those doctrines, which he received as truth. In the year 1664 he was taken up on the highway, as he was on a journey, and for declining an oath, was committed to prison, where he was detained several years; I apprehend, until the general release in 1672. Through all, his prevailing and effectual ministry, his circumspect and exemplary conversation, his pacific spirit, the meekness



meekness and evenness of his temper, his humility, patience, temperance, love to his brethren, and his religious care in the church, to preserve good order therein, and the reputation thereof unfulfilled, raised him high in the estimation of his friends and neighbours in his native country. Such was the man chosen by William Penn from amongst the companions of his voyage, to entrust with the government of his province, in his absence. In his temper not easily provoked to anger, in his judgment cool, deliberate and penetrating; he was well accomplished for the administration of the government of the province, and for the execution of the beneficial laws of Pennsylvania. In peace and prosperity, seconded by magistrates like-minded, the affairs of government were managed under his direction, to the mutual satisfaction of himself and the people at large; till the disturbances raised by George Keith, for a season interrupted the remarkable harmony subsisting between the different orders of the state. To him Thomas Lloyd was a kind and beneficent patron, whilst he acted in the unity of the body, of which he was a member; and he might here have been in happy and honourable circumstances, under his protection, if he could have been contented with the station and allotment for which he was chosen and qualified, but aspiring above it, he became uneasy to himself and to many others, and in the end, in a great measure, lost his estimation amongst the discerning and dispassionate part of mankind. For when he exerted his endeavours to promote schism in the church, and faction in the state, it became the duty of the governor,


in

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CHAP. in regard to the public good, to use all his influence to discountenance and check his proceedings.

XIII.  For which, we have seen he met with unmerited obloquy and bitter revilings from him and his partisans, which he bore with christian patience, neither returning their revilings, nor abusing the power with which he was invested, to avenge himself; but endeavouring by sound reasoning in the meekness of wisdom to bring them to a better temper, to return to the cultivation of amity and peace with their neighbours; and when his united labours with his brethren failed of the desired success, he joined his authority with them in issuing a public testimony against their contentious and disorderly conduct.

1694.

Thus devoting his labour, his time and his talents to the service of God, and of the public, promoting the good of civil and religious society, he fell ill of a malignant fever, which in about six days put a period to his life in about the 54th year of his age.

The violence of his distemper he bore with exemplary patience, the pain of his body being alleviated by the serenity of his mind, the prospect of death being no terror to him, as the sting thereof was taken away; which appeared by the following expressions; addressed to some of his friends a short time before his decease, viz. " Friends, I love you all, and I am going  
 " from you; I die in unity and in love with  
 " faithful friends. I have fought a good fight,  
 " and have kept the faith, which stands not in  
 " the wisdom of words, but in the power of  
 " God. I have not sought for strife and con-  
 " tention,

“ tention, but for the grace of our Lord Jesus  
 “ Christ, and the simplicity of the gospel. I lay  
 “ down my head in peace, and I desire you may  
 “ all do so.” Afterwards to Griffith Owen,  
 “ I desire thee to mind my love to friends in Old  
 “ England, if thou live to go over to see them ;  
 “ I have lived in unity with them, and do desire  
 “ the Lord to keep them all faithful to the end  
 “ in the simplicity of the gospel.”

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1694.

In the course of this year Robert Barrow, 1695.  
 from Westmorland, and Robert Wardel, from  
 Sunderland. county Durham, both far advanced  
 in years, but men eminently qualified for ser-  
 vice, the latter being more remarkable for an  
 extraordinary talent in the discipline, the former  
 for an excellent gift in the ministry, notwith-  
 standing their advanced age, and the probability  
 of a final separation from their nearest connecti-  
 ons and their native land, under persuasion  
 of duty and the impulse of gospel love, paid  
 a religious visit to their friends in this remote  
 quarter of the globe. They commenced their  
 service in the province of Pennsylvania and Jer-  
 sey, to the comfort and edification of those they  
 ministered unto, and afterwards visited New  
 England and other parts of the continent, in  
 which service they spent the remaining part  
 of the present, and greatest part of the suc-  
 ceeding year, and in the latter end thereof  
 embarked for the West-Indian islands ; and  
 after passing through Bermudas and Antigua,  
 where they had considerable service among  
 friends and other inhabitants, they arrived at  
 Jamaica in the second month 1696, intending  
 after their service there was finished, to return  
 to the Continent of America. Continuing united

Robert Bar-  
 row and  
 Robert  
 Wardel visit  
 America.

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1696.

Robert  
Wardel dies  
in Jamaica.

ed in diligent labour for the promotion of truth and righteousness among their friends and others in that island, for the space of two weeks, the climate seemed unfavourable to their declining constitutions at their time of life, making a visible alteration in both ; but more immediately on Robert Wardel, whom it threw into an indisposition, which soon terminated his labours with his life. During his confinement to his bed, a friend coming to visit him, and enquiring of him how he found himself ? he answered, “ I have been sick many times, but I never felt myself as I am now, therefore I know not how it may be with me, the will of the Lord be done, I am given up, and am content with God’s will.” At another time he said to the woman friend, at whose house he was, “ the Lord reward thee for thy tender care, it makes me think of my dear wife ; I know not whether I may ever see her more ; but however the will of God be done ; I am, and was willing to be contented with the will of God, whether life or death, before I came hither ; and I bless God, I am not afraid to die.” And continuing to the end in a resigned frame of mind, gave pertinent exhortations to several of those who came to visit him, concerning the education of their children, their care of discipline in the church, and that things might be kept in good order, and expressed his desire that friends might walk answerable to God’s love to them ; and after four days sickness, he peaceably expired on the 22d of the second month, leaving his companion and fellow labourer on the island. And as this friend was not the least distinguished among his brethren for his services, and his peculiar



peculiar sufferings, a more particular account of him may not be unacceptable to some readers.

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Robert Barrow was a native of Lancashire, but removed and brought up from his infancy in Westmorland. He was convinced of the truth as held by the people called Quakers in the early times of their being distinguished by that denomination, and after some time received a gift in the ministry; in the exercise whereof he travelled much in England, twice through Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. His testimony and service was, I understand, every where very edifying, and very acceptable to his friends, and reaching to others.

1696.  
Account of  
Robert Bar-  
row.  
Piety pro-  
moted.

He appears to have been a man of great meekness, innocence, and patience, which was repeatedly put to the trial by the successive sufferings he endured for the testimony of a good conscience, in his native country; as well as those distressing hardships he endured in Florida, hereafter to be described.

In the year 1663 he was taken from a meeting at Birkhagge, in company with other friends, indicted at the sessions; from which he, with John Ayrey and Bryan Lancaster, were committed to prison, and confined there upwards of eleven months.

In the year 1665 he was committed to prison on an old indictment, but after eight days confinement, again discharged, upon being fined 13s. 4d. for which his goods were afterwards distrained.

His next suffering was by distraint of his property for a demand not properly his own. In the year 1664 Christopher Bisbrown, of Arnside, was sued for tithes to an outlawry, and

Distrained  
for a de-  
mand not  
properly his  
own.

CHAP. and arrested by Robert Wilkinson, a bailiff,  
 XIII. of Kendal, at the suit of James Ducket, lord  
 1696. of the manor of Grayrigg: The plaintiff, instead  
 of obeying the requisition of the writ, by causing him to be conveyed to London, to appear personally in the court of exchequer, found means to keep him close prisoner in the bailiff's house above sixteen months, in order to force him to a compliance with his demands. But the old man, who was then seventy-seven years of age, bore his confinement with christian patience, and at length died in the bailiff's house, the place of his long confinement. And in a year or two after the prosecutor was also removed by death.

For in the year 1688 the two daughters and executrixes of the said Christopher Bisbrown were prosecuted by Elizabeth Ducket, widow and executrix of James Ducket aforesaid, in the manor court of Beethom, for the same tithe for which their father suffered imprisonment until death. Mary Bisbrown, one of the said executrixes, was summoned to appear, and upon her non-appearance a verdict of 6l. 10s. was obtained against her, and a warrant granted for distress on her goods; but she being in the station of a servant, they could find no effects of hers; and her sister was out of their jurisdiction. The prosecutrix, vexed at these disappointments, manifested clearly, that her aim in these prosecutions was not so much to obtain justice, as to gratify a tyrannical and vindictive disposition; declaring that she would spend 100l. upon the representatives of Christopher Bisbrown, rather than suffer them to get off with impunity. Therefore, soon after her aforesaid

said

saïd disappointment, this our friend Robert Barrow, who had married Margaret Bisbrown, the other executrix, was summoned into the court at Kendal by the saïd Elizabeth Ducket, upon the aforesaïd verdict obtained at Beethom, where he demurred to the jurisdiction of that court, which appears to have been allowed. Sometime after, he was again summoned to the saïd court at Kendal, where four actions were brought against him at the suit of the saïd Elizabeth Ducket; and on the second day of the month called March, 1668, those actions were tried, and a verdict obtained against him for 4l. for which the bailiffs took from him a horse which cost him 4l. 5s. hay worth 15s. and sundry articles of household furniture beside.

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In the same year Robert Barrow, with Miles Bateman, and John Fell, was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court at Richmond, for small tithes and Easter offerings, at the suit of William Brownswood, priest of Kendal, and was committed to prison, and detained there nine weeks: After which these friends, being informed of some illegality in the proceedings against them, appealed to the ecclesiastical court at York, upon which they were set at liberty during the appeal, and were likely to recover costs against the priest: But by the advice of one Dr. Burwell, the priest took an oath of the legality of his prosecution, and thereupon they were cited to answer upon oath, otherwise they would incur a contempt, which must have been the consequence, only that both the priest and this Dr. Burwell died in the intermediate time, whereby the suit was terminated after an expence of 7l. to our saïd friend, besides his false imprisonment, which was attended with

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with a circumstance, evidencing the unfeeling temper of his prosecutor: When the bailiffs came to his house to arrest him, he was sick, and had taken physic, wherefore he requested them to forbear taking him from home until the next day. Although these are a class of men by no means remarkable for tenderness, yet, in this case, they evidenced more of that disposition than the priest; to whom when they applied in favour of the prisoner, informing him *it might endanger the man's health to take him away at that time: the priest churlishly answered, that unless he would pay, he should go immediately to jail.* So they were obliged to hurry him away, to the apparent danger of his health.

He was again imprisoned in 1677. The mayor of Kendal sent three constables to the meeting, who found Robert Barrow preaching: At the next sessions he, and two other friends, who were at the meeting, were (after the custom of this time) indicted for a riot, fined by the court, and imprisoned: But some little time after, their fines were levied by distress of their goods, and themselves set at liberty.

His last imprisonment was in London in the year 1685, after the death of king Charles, and the accession of his brother James to the throne, while the persecution of this people, for their religious dissent, though carried on with less vehemence, still was continued, he was taken from Devonshire house meeting, and with several others indicted again for a riot, brought in guilty and fined 2l. 13s. 4d. and of course remanded to prison for non-payment; but how long he was detained there I find no certain account.

But



But it was not long until the persecution was much moderated, and in fine terminated by the king's declaration of indulgence. Robert Barrow had, when at liberty, travelled into sundry parts of Great-Britain in the exercise of his ministerial labours in sundry periods of his life; but did not cross the seas in that service until his declining years. In 1691 his sympathy with his friends in Ireland, just relieved from a season of great distress, drew him to pay them a religious visit, being the first friend from abroad who visited that nation after the wars. And in the next year 1692, he repeated his visit to that nation, in company with Alexander Seaton.

In the year 1694 he left his outward habitation under a full persuasion of duty, to pay a religious visit to his friends on the American continent, and some of the West-Indian islands; for so discouraging was the prospect of this undertaking at his time of life, that nothing short of a firm belief of a divine impulse inciting thereto could have prevailed over his reluctance to the voyage; but in obedience to the divine will, though in a cross to his own, he submitted to prosecute that way, which only seemed to open to the maintaining that peace of mind, which with him was of more consideration than bodily ease, or even domestic satisfaction, without it. Such was his apprehension of the attendant difficulties and dangers, that he expressed himself to this effect before he left England, *that he had rather have immediately laid down his natural life there, if by so doing he could have kept his peace with God, than to cross the seas to America.*

We

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Embarks for  
America in  
his old age.

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Shipwreck-  
ed in the  
gulf of  
Florida.

We left him in the island of Jamaica, where he spent about four months after the decease of his companion, and being clear of his service in those parts was purposing to return to Pennsylvania; and with that view he embarked in company with Jonathan Dickenson and his family, on board the Barkentine Reformation, Joseph Kirle, master, on the 23d of the 6th month called August, 1696; they proceeded pretty successfully on their voyage till the 22d of next month, when being in the Gulf of Florida, a great storm arose and drove them ashore in the night, when it was so dark they could see no land, the seas broke over them, and set all things in the cabin afloat; the vessel was soon shattered, several of the timbers broken and planks started. They concluded to keep in the vessel as long as it would hold together, and at day light found themselves on shore upon a beach which was dry when the surges retreated.

They seemed to conceive the joy naturally resulting from this preservation from the raging waves, but allayed by fears from their ignorance of the land on which they were thrown, they got on shore, and brought off some of their provisions, with spars and sails to make a tent. Jonathan Dickenson with a negro servant went to view the land, which appeared a dreary waste without trees or herbage; they chose the most convenient place they could find for their tent, to which they brought the sick and the weak, particularly Jonathan Dickenson's wife and young child, and Robert Barrow, who besides the infirmity of age, had been for some time under an infirm state of health; the storm and  
rain

rain still continued, from which they had no pro- CHAP.  
 per shelter, their clothes also were all very wet XIII.  
 and cold, but these were scarcely to be reckoned ~~~~~  
 hardships in comparison of what they had to ex- 1696.  
 perience.

For in a short time two of the natives made their appearance, who went quite naked, except a small piece of plaited straw-work about their waists, fastened behind, and depending down a little before; these savages looked very fierce, their countenances very furious, their hair was tied behind in a roll, in which stuck two bones, one shaped like a broad arrow, the other like the point of a spear, and their weapons were long knives with which they were furnished by the Spaniards. These two natives running furiously, seized the two first of the ship's crew they met with, who were fetching corn from the vessel; the rest of the crew coming up seemed disposed to fetch their guns to kill them; but were dissuaded by Jonathan Dickenson, who observed to them their inability to defend themselves and company from the consequences of such an action, advising them to put their trust in the Lord, who was able to defend them to the uttermost. After looking upon these strangers awhile, the Indians turned their backs and ran away.

These Indians of Florida appear to have been The Indi-  
 of a much more savage and vicious temper than ans of Flo-  
 any of those tribes, bordering upon the middle rida very  
 and northern provinces inhabited by the English savage and  
 planters, so much so that these latter might be cruel.  
 esteemed civilized people compared to them, be-  
 ing of that barbarous kind in those days term-  
 ed canibals or men-eaters. The sudden retreat  
 of

C H A P. of these two filled the ship-wrecked crew and passengers with gloomy apprehensions, imagining they were gone to alarm the rest of the natives in these parts, which seemeth to have been really the case.

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1696.

Thip ship-wrecked: people assume the name of Spaniards.

Conferring amongst themselves about the best expedients in this extremity, one of the company proposed to assume the denomination of Spaniards, as these Indians stood in awe of them; and one of the mariners, named Solomon Crefon, speaking the Spanish language well, the motion was agreed to by most of the company as the most probable means of escaping with their lives.

Soon after word was brought by some of their people who had been near the beach, that the Indians were coming in a very great number, all running and shouting; the greatest part went to plunder the vessel, but the Cassakey (their king or chief) with about thirty more, came upon the ship-wrecked people in a furious manner, with a terrible aspect, their large Spanish knives in their hands, and foaming at the mouth, cried out *Nicaleer, Nicaleer*, which though not understood at that time, they came after to understand was the term they used to signify *Englishmen*, to whom they bore a particular malevolence, whether from any misrepresentations of the Spaniards, or because the English having no power here to call them to account, they might think themselves at liberty to give full scope to their natural propensity to cruelty; or whether it might proceed from any injury they conceived themselves to have received from any individuals of this nation, it is not possible to determine; however it be, it would be well for those



those who may not be in their power, to offer them no injury or offence, lest their countrymen suffer for their misconduct. C H A P. XIII.

When these persons endeavoured according to their agreement to pass themselves upon them for Spaniards, they repeated their cry, "no España, "Nickaleer, Nickaleer," and surrounding them, placed themselves each behind one, and some taking hold of them by the head, with their knees set against their shoulders, with their arms extended and their knives in their hands, in this posture they seemed to wait for the Cassekey to begin the butchery. But the hearts of all men are in the hands of a superior power, and he can turn them as he pleases.

The friends sitting quite still, and apparently unmoved, resigned to the divine will, and placing their confidence in divine providence, quietly waited the event; when all on a sudden the Indians, who had been very clamorous in their unintelligible jargon, and dreadfully fierce in their countenances, were struck dumb, their countenances fell, and they looked like men amazed for a quarter of an hour. Then they withdrew their hands, and left them, to rise their trunks and chests, which they had brought on shore, and divided the spoil, the Cassekey reserving the money to himself. They stripped most of them of their clothes, leaving them as naked as themselves, (except Jonathan Dickenson's wife and child, Robert Barrow and Joseph Kirle). Being now in the hands of these Indians, it pleased divine providence to affect the Cassekey's heart with tenderness, who thenceforward became their protector against the further rapine or abuse of his people.

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They seem  
in danger of  
being murdered by the  
Savages;

but are providentially preserved.

CHAP. But the next day the Cassekey came into the  
 XIII. tent, which by his direction by a signal, the  
 1696. ship's company had erected to shelter themselves  
 Robert Bar- from the storm and rain, and sitting down a-  
 row's inte- mongst them, repeated the question *Nickaleer*,  
 grity. *Nickaleer*? and addressed himself directly to Ro-  
 bert Barrow: Now although the rest for the  
 safety of their lives had assumed the name of  
 Spaniards, some on that account making a wrong  
 assertion, others evading a direct answer, yet  
 this honest man, who had learned of the God of  
 truth, to speak the truth from his heart on all  
 occasions, even at the hazard of his life, durst  
 do neither the one or the other, but in simpli-  
 city answered yes\*; whereupon the Cassekey  
 asked him, if another person, to whom he point-  
 ed was *Nickaleer*? to which he returned the same  
 answer. Then he said *totus* (all) *Nickaleer*, and  
 went out, but returned in a short time with some  
 of his men with him, and then they stripped Ro-  
 bert Barrow and the rest, who had hitherto been  
 spared of their clothes, and left them likewise  
 almost naked; yet God suffered not these sava-  
 ges to take their lives.

\* As neither party understood the language of the other, a difficulty may present itself to the reader; how this Cassekey could know that *yes* was an affirmative answer. It hath been observed that one of the company could speak Spanish, whom, when present, they employed as their spokesman, and, in his absence, had answered *Espania* or *Pensylvania*: This Cassekey had got a smattering of Spanish from his intercourse with the Spaniards, and finding by Robert Barrow's answer that it was neither in the Spanish language nor the expression the others had made use of, being all along suspicious they were Englishmen, or *Nickaleer*, this new answer might confirm his suspicions, and make him take it for granted that this answer was an owning of it.

The

The Indians having collected their plunder, provided a guard armed with bows and arrows to conduct their prisoners to their town, who were each of them, if any ways able, obliged to carry a burthen; provided for them out of the plunder. Thus loaded, and threatened to be shot if any of them offered to lay down their burthen, they were marched about five miles barefooted through deep sand, and the sun extremely hot; when they reached an inlet of the sea, on the other side whereof their town stood, composed of a few wigwams, constructed of small poles stuck in the ground, bent one to another to form an arch, and covered with a thatch of palmetto leaves; to this town they were taken over the inlet in canoes.

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The Englishmen  
carried to  
the Indian  
town.

Here they had an opportunity of observing their manner of worship, which was performed by night, and which is thus described: The moon being up, an Indian who performs their ceremonies, looking steadfastly at the moon, made a hideous noise, and acted like a madman for the space of half an hour, all the Indians being silent till he had done; after which they made a great noise, some like the barking of a dog, and other strange sounds; after this, one got a log, and set himself down, holding the stick or log upright resting on the ground, several others gathered about him, making a hideous noise, and singing after their fashion; at length their women joined the chorus, and added greatly to the vociferation, which continued till midnight.

The Indian  
manner of  
worship.

The next day the 26th of the month, they had amongst themselves worship of a very different

R. Barrow's  
exhortation  
to patience,  
and inter-  
vent prayer  
for prefer-  
vation.



C H A P. ferent kind. Robert Barrow under a deep ex-  
 XIII. ercise of mind, in consideration of their pre-  
 1696. sent distressing trials, toward the evening of the  
 day, felt a concern to address an exhortation to  
 his fellow sufferers to patience under their pre-  
 sent afflictions, preaching from the text of scrip-  
 ture, Rev. iii. 10. *Because thou hast kept the  
 word of my patience, therefore I will keep thee.*  
 After which he ended with a most fervent prayer,  
 desiring of the Lord, *that whereas he had suf-  
 fered them to be cast amongst a barbarous and hea-  
 thenish people, that if it was his blessed will he  
 would preserve and deliver them from amongst  
 them, that their names might not be buried in  
 oblivion, and that he might lay his body amongst  
 his faithful friends.* At the close of his prayer  
 he seemed to have an assurance that his petition  
 would be granted.

They quit  
 the Indian  
 town to  
 travel to  
 Augustine.

They spent five days amongst this savage peo-  
 ple, and then, being stripped of all they had, were  
 permitted to depart, and obtained from the In-  
 dians at their departure some things they seem-  
 ed to set no value upon, being articles of pro-  
 vision these savages knew not the use of, but  
 which might be of service to them in their  
 journey. They had hitherto eaten very little, if  
 any thing, from the time of their shipwreck;  
 at first their affliction and terror took away their  
 appetite, that they had little inclination to eat;  
 then the Indians' food here was mostly distasteful  
 to them, and when they were provided with fish  
 pretty plentifully, some of them hungry as they  
 were, having conceived a dreadful notion of  
 them as cannibals or men-eaters, durst eat but  
 sparingly, as imagining they only fed them to  
 feed themselves upon them.

They



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They divided their company, the ablest taking their journey by land, and the sick and weak by water, in their own boat, which they had obtained of the Cassekey, and directed their course to a place called Lucia, on their way to Augustine; but particularly to describe all the hardships, distresses and dangers they passed through in a wilderness journey, or voyaging little less trying and dangerous for the space of six or seven weeks, till they reached that town, would be too tedious a recital: A summary relation thereof may suffice in this place.

When they came to the place of their first destination, where they expected greater safety, and more friendly treatment amongst Indians nearer to the body of the Spanish settlements, they found themselves greatly disappointed, meeting here with inhabitants not a whit more civilized than those they had left behind, equally savage, equally suspicious of their being Englishmen, and equally ill-disposed towards them as such; yet they were here also providentially preserved from personal injury, any farther than stripping them of those poor rags which the others had left them, for these stripped and left them quite naked. Here the Cassekey's wife was made an instrument for their preservation, she and some others possessing some tenderness, though amongst such an inhuman crew.

Expecting  
to meet a  
place of  
safety they  
are disap-  
pointed.

They were daily conversant in perils by sea and perils by land; once an arrow shot at them narrowly missed them; another time, when some were going to shoot, certain of their own company caught hold of their bows and arms to prevent them; some did shoot, and their arrows missed oftener than once; one time as they were rowing

Various pe-  
rils

CHAP. rowing along shore in their boat, the sea swell-  
 XIII. ed to that degree that it was dangerous con-  
 1696. tinuing there all night, and as dangerous to en-  
 deavour to gain the shore, yet that divine provi-  
 dence in which they trusted made way for them  
 here, and conducted them safe to shore, it ap-  
 pearing as if a lane were made through the  
 breakers, so that they landed safely. Another  
 time, by reason of a great flood, they were oblig-  
 ed to remove their lodgings several times, and  
 for divers days were in continual apprehension  
 of being drowned; at length they were pre-  
 served on an oyster-hill.

Their food  
 loathsome.

Their food amongst these latter Indians as well  
 as the former was both very scanty, and very  
 loathsome, even gills and guts of fish picked off  
 a dunghill; sometimes the nauseous scraps the  
 Indians threw away, and the water they boiled  
 their fish in however filthily handled: At first  
 we have seen their sorrows and alarms deprived  
 them of appetite, then the Indian food was dis-  
 tasteful, but at length extreme hunger prevailed  
 over all disgust, they could eat the palmetto  
 berries with an appetite, which at first had a  
 most disagreeable taste, and were like to take  
 away their breath.

Their lodg-  
 ing very  
 uncomfor-  
 table.

Their lodging was equally uncomfortable: it  
 is easily imagined how great a hardship it must  
 be to people well educated, and inured to com-  
 fortable accommodations, to lie on a floor swarm-  
 ing with vermin of many sorts, and in the midst  
 of all the filth that bred these vermin; more  
 severely trying still was this lodging on the cold  
 ground afterwards, unclothed and unsheltered,  
 exposed to the chilling blasts of the rigid North-  
 west wind.

For

For before they reached Augustine, this wind C H A P. introducing the severest cold and frost in this XIII. continent set in; they were then in an uninhabited country, where they were obliged to take 1696. up their lodging on the ground in the open air, they provided the best shelter they could against the freezing wind, and having wood here made a large fire, but when they lay down could not rest, for when on one side they were even scorched by the fire, the other side was ready to freeze, insomuch that they were obliged to stand or keep running most of the night; the next day proved the accumulation of their sorrows, faint and weary for want of rest and want of food, they walked in pain through weakness and fatigue, if they stood still they were benumbed with the frost and lost themselves, and if this were the case with any of them, the rest were too weak to assist them; they were obliged to leave them to perish, or perish with them; three or four of their negroes actually perished, and were seen by them no more, and one of the passengers fainting they were forced to leave behind half dead, and I find not that he came to them again. Upon this catastrophe I find the following remark, \* “ God can both administer “ strength in the midst of weakness, and also “ take away strength and cause weakness to “ succeed whenever he pleases. Here was an “ old man †, a ‡ woman with a sucking child, “ and a woman with child, persons very unlikely to encounter such hardships, all persevered through, and yet divers negroes injured

They endure great hardship by the extremity of cold and frost.

\* Preface to J. Dickenson's narrative.

† Robert Barrow.

‡ Jonathan Dickenson's wife.

“ to

CHAP. "to more hardships perished." The next day  
 XIII. they reached a Spanish settlement, and in two  
 days more they arrived at Augustine; on the  
 1696. 15th of 9th month November, after a very dis-  
 They arrive at Augus-  
 tine,  
 tressing journey from the 28th of 7th month  
 September, the day they left the first Indian  
 town, wherein they experienced calamities the  
 most distressing to human nature, literally those  
 the apostle recounts as such, "In perils of wa-  
 "ters, in perils of robbers, in perils by the  
 "heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils  
 "in the sea; in weariness and painfulness, in  
 "watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fast-  
 "ing often, in cold and nakedness." 2 Cor. xi.  
 26, 27.

where they  
 are very  
 kindly en-  
 tertained by  
 the gover-  
 nor, and  
 sent for-  
 ward to Ca-  
 rolina.

From  
 whence  
 they arrive  
 at Philadel-  
 phia.

At Augustine they were entertained, clothed  
 and fed with great humanity by the governor,  
 who having providentially heard of their capti-  
 vity among the Indians, sent out a body of Spa-  
 niards into the Indian settlements to find them  
 out and conduct them thither; and when they  
 were sufficiently refreshed to undertake the jour-  
 ney, provided them with necessary accommo-  
 dations and proper guides to conduct them  
 safely to Carolina. The governor of Carolina,  
 with equal generosity and humanity completed  
 that relief the other had begun, supporting them  
 liberally, and providing them with better cloth-  
 ing than Augustine afforded: here they stayed  
 a month wanting four days, when Robert Bar-  
 row, Jonathan Dickenson, his wife and child,  
 embarked for Pennsylvania, and in fourteen days  
 arrived at Philadelphia, on the 1st day of the 2d  
 month O. S. called April, 1697, about six months  
 and seven days from the time of their ship-  
 wreck.

Robert



Robert Barrow from the decay of nature and the unwholesomeness of the food he had subsisted on among the Indians, had contracted a violent flux, added to his preceding sickness, which had held him ever since he left Augustine, and was aggravated by the cold weather, so that when he arrived at Philadelphia, he was reduced to such extremity of weakness as to be incapable of moving or helping himself.

C H A P.

XIII.

1697.

R. Barrow  
reduced to  
a very weak  
state.

It was about eight o'clock in the evening when the vessel he was in arrived, and divers friends went on board to help him on shore, but found him too weak to remove that night; he was rejoiced to see them, and expressed his great satisfaction that the Lord had granted his request that he might lay down his bones in that place; that his heart was strong, and he hoped to see friends again at the meeting. He gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God to him, the consolation of whose presence had attended him in all his exercises.

The next morning several friends went aboard to assist in bringing the vessel up to a wharf, in order to get him on shore, which they effected, and wrapping him up in a blanket conveyed him in a hammock to the house of Samuel Carpenter, where being shifted, he slept a considerable time; the same day some friends came to visit him, at the sight of whom he seemed greatly rejoiced. The friends expressed their gladness to see him, but said they were sorry to see him so weak; to which he replied, "although my body be weak, my mind is sound and my memory good. The Lord hath been very good to me all along to this very day, and this very morning hath sweetly refreshed me." And further added,

CHAP. added, " the Lord hath answered my desire, for

XIII. " I desire content, and that I might come to

~~~~~ " this place to lay my bones amongst you."

1697. And afterwards, " it is a good thing to have

His dying
expressions. " a conscience void of offence, both towards
" God, and towards men."

On the 4th day of the 2d month, about the 5th hour in the morning, he desired a friend to write for him to his dear wife, to remember his dear love to her, and let her know of his travels and his arrival at Philadelphia; that the Lord was with him, that his outward affairs was settled, and that she had wherewithal to live on. Several friends coming to visit him this day, he said, " that the Lord was with him, and all " things were well, and that he had nothing to " do but die." And the same day departed this life, being the 3d day after his arrival, and on the 6th day of the same month was decently interred in friends burying ground in Philadelphia.

His death.

The partisans of G. Keith continue very troublesome

1696.

Although George Keith had left America, and was now busying himself in vain endeavours to scatter the seeds of discord amongst his former friends in England, yet in America, where he had been more successful in causing an open separation, the seeds of dissention and enmity he had sown amongst his partisans had grown to strength, and many of them having thoroughly imbibed the bitterness of his spirit, continued to be very troublesome to their quondam friends. At the yearly meeting at Burlington this year, George Hutchinson, with some others of the party, attempted to disturb the meeting of worship, coming in under a very ill-timed pretence of demanding justice against the ministers and strangers,

strangers; against whom he alleged he had divers things to object, both in respect to doctrine and practice; but it being evident by his manner of expression, that he was actuated by a spirit of envy and malignity, and that his intention was only to disorder the meeting by cavilling and contention, friends took no notice of him, but continued their meeting unmoved by his railing accusations, and as they felt their minds properly influenced, bore their testimonies to the truth, and continued them over all his opposition: Nothing perhaps aggravates passion more than the observation that it makes no impression; exasperated at the neglect of his calumnies he continued his railing even while some of the friends were preaching; and when he found he could not attain his end to put the meeting in disorder or confuse the preachers, he departed in wrath, with a menace that he would publish or expose them to the world. A menace which could make little impression on them, as they had already experienced what his strenuous efforts in this line of conduct could effect, particularly the preceding evening, when the town being full of people, he had gathered a tumultuous company in the streets, whom he entertained with an harangue, conceived in those invective and injurious terms, which were now become too customary with him and his party in venting their causeless enmity against that body of people of which they had professed themselves members, and who having administered no just occasion for their reproaches, they rebounded in the estimation of the impartial upon themselves.

Hutchinson

CHAP.

XIII.

~~~~~

1696.

Hutchinson's disturbance succeeded by that of some Germans.

Hutchinson had no sooner withdrawn than a fresh disturbance was attempted by a number of Germans with one Henry Bernard Castor at their head, who was one of those called Pietists, whom with his brethren, friends in London were reported to have assisted on their way to Pennsylvania, for which they seem to have made very ungrateful returns; for divers of them gave friends there much trouble in matters wherein no reasonable plea of conscience or duty could be advanced, and in a manner inconsistent with the spirit of christianity, appearing very fierce and violent, especially at this meeting: for with turbulent vociferation they produced several books of Edward Burrough's, William Penn's and other friends, clamouring against them that they denied the Lord Jesus Christ, and that they were there ready to prove it out of these books. It was certainly a great hardship, imposed by these unruly spirits, upon a people religiously assembled for mutual edification, to have their solemnities thus interrupted and disturbed, and endeavours used to convert them into scenes of confusion and altercation; but friends feeling their minds stayed under an awful inward sense of the great duty of worship which they were engaged in, they were preserved so steadfast and immoveable, as not to gratify their lust to contention by an opposition at that time unseasonable, but such as felt their minds influenced to speak in public were strengthened to continue their testimonies over all their clamour, disorder and raising of their voices, and speaking, two, three and sometimes more at a time, so that at length they gave out and left the meeting.

But



But although many of those who had withdrawn themselves with George Keith retained their inveterate enmity against friends, yet many others perceiving the causelessness of their separation, and feeling want of peace in themselves therein, had returned back to the society, and acknowledged their errors to the monthly meetings to which they had belonged, by a writing under their hands, of which the following is a specimen:

CHAP.  
XIII.

1697.

Several others of his followers return back to the fellowship of the society.

“ Long before George Keith set up his separate meeting, my mind was at times gone out of the pure fear of God, into my own reason, and conceivings, and in that I took in hand to judge of friends’ testimonies, and therein speak evil of that which through God’s goodness I now see I understood not, and particularly against John Willsford, who often gave us warning of what is now come to pass, telling us, in the power and demonstration of God’s pure spirit, that if we went from the guidance of God’s spirit in our own imaginations, and hunting to study God’s secrets, it would gender to strife and contention, and we should be like heads and hands pushing and rushing one at another, which is too apparent at this day; and notwithstanding George Keith went beyond all bounds of moderation in reflecting upon friends, perverting their words, and mangling their testimonies, and unto such great heats and passions, the fond, foolish affection I had to him blinded my eyes, or at least made me willing to overlook them, and not only so, but the guidance of God’s spirit in my own heart, which would  
“ have

Caleb Wheatley’s acknowledgment.

CHAP. " have kept me out of those evils if I had well  
 XIII. " minded it, and often followed me, and re-  
 1697. " proved me, and broke my rest, while I join-  
 " ed with the separate party. I am not able to  
 " express in words the sorrow and trouble I had  
 " night and day, whilst I frequented their meet-  
 " ings and heard them speak evil of friends, for  
 " that was most of their practice when their  
 " meetings were over, as well as at many other  
 " times. But now I praise the Lord for his  
 " mercies, who hath let me see the out-goings  
 " of my own mind, and the evil of their ways,  
 " and hath in measure given me strength to  
 " come out from among them; and to bear  
 " my testimony against that spirit, both in my-  
 " self and others, which leadeth into such evil,  
 " as is too frequent among them; and I am  
 " very sorry and sore grieved that I should be  
 " so foolish as to join with them against friends,  
 " in setting my hand to their pretended yearly  
 " meeting paper. I was troubled for it often  
 " before I left them. They often desired me to  
 " give them a reason why I left them. I might  
 " give them many, but in short I had no true  
 " peace with them. I often tried for life. I  
 " I could not feel it among them, but instead  
 " thereof sorrow and anguish of soul, and if I  
 " had kept to the pure guidance of God's pure  
 " spirit, and the light of Christ in my own  
 " heart, which some of them in my hearing  
 " have undervalued, saying they thought I had  
 " known better things, when I said I ought to  
 " believe in the light within, which reproveth  
 " for sin. I say, if I had kept to this, I had ne-  
 " ver joined with them in the beforementioned  
 " things,

“ things, which I am satisfied by my own ex-  
 “ perience Christ never led them into. To con-  
 “ clude, my desire to the Lord is that he will  
 “ keep me close to the guidance of his pure  
 “ spirit, out of the restless spirit which I have  
 “ sometimes been in, and I hope he will, if I  
 “ diligently wait upon him; but if for want of  
 “ watchfulness the enemy should prevail, as I  
 “ hope he never will, I have full satisfaction in  
 “ what I have here written, and in joining  
 “ with my real friends again, amongst whom  
 “ I feel life, and more quiet and steadiness of  
 “ mind than I have done for a long time be-  
 “ fore. Praise to the Lord for evermore.  
 “ Amen.

CHAP.  
 XIII.  
 1697.

“ CALEB WHEATLEY.

“ Written the 31st of the 11th month, 1692.”

\* Those of the Separatists who did not return  
 to their brethren were now under various fluc-  
 tuations, some turned to the episcopalians, some  
 to the baptists, and others to nothing; but many  
 of them though shattered among themselves con-  
 tinued violent against friends, and as irrecon-  
 cileable as ever; it was however plainly enough  
 to be seen that the whole was breaking and  
 coming to nothing fast; the yearly meeting epis-  
 tle of this year from hence to friends in Lon-  
 don, gives some account of the present state of  
 things, as well among them as otherwise in  
 these provinces; some paragraphs of it are there-  
 fore here inserted:

\* S. Smith.

“ Dear

## CHAP.

XIII.

1697.

“ Dear Friends,

“ In that which abides for ever we salute and  
 “ tenderly embrace you, and in the joy of God’s  
 “ salvation rejoice with you, admiring and re-  
 “ verencing that arm that has thus far brought  
 “ us out of darkness into the marvellous light  
 “ of the Lord, in which the nations of them  
 “ that are saved must walk, in which light and  
 “ life our unity and heavenly fellowship stands  
 “ sure against all the attempts of satan, to break  
 “ it either immediately by his own suggestions,  
 “ or instrumentally by those, who either never  
 “ knew it, or having known it, through an  
 “ evil heart of unbelief, have departed from  
 “ it.

“ Dear friends, our yearly meeting at this  
 “ time hath been much larger than ever, not-  
 “ withstanding the backsliding and apostacy of  
 “ divers with George Keith, and the vain en-  
 “ deavours used by them, in their rest-  
 “ less state to trouble and divide us, which the  
 “ more they attempt, the more the Lord unites  
 “ us, to his glory and our comfort, and their  
 “ vexation and torment, and in this blessed uni-  
 “ ty have we had a sweet time together at this  
 “ season, which may be truly called a feast of  
 “ charity; and besides the public friends be-  
 “ longing to this meeting, we had with us our  
 “ friends Jonathan Tyler, Henry Payton and  
 “ Sarah Clark, who, we are sensible, came in  
 “ the love of truth to visit us, in which we re-  
 “ ceive and bid them God speed; they have la-  
 “ boured painfully and industriously in the  
 “ service of truth, with good acceptance, and  
 “ are now near leaving us, in order to return  
 “ to England, whom we pray God to protect,  
 “ and



“ and give them their sheaves in their bosoms, CHAP.  
 “ and provoke others to the like services, of XIM.  
 “ which we shall be at all times glad. }  
 1697.

“ Our exercise with the Separatists is much  
 “ over here, only our lamentation over some of  
 “ the most simple of them, for whose return  
 “ we wait, since they have ceased to give us  
 “ disturbance as formerly; they are at great va-  
 “ riance amongst themselves, biting and de-  
 “ vouring one another, and surely the Lord is  
 “ letting fall showers of confusion upon them,  
 “ they continue still going back, divers of them  
 “ to water baptism, about which, and the sup-  
 “ per, and the lawfulness of oaths, a great part  
 “ of their contention is.

“ We are sensible, dear friends, of your exer-  
 “ cise with that malicious unruly instrument  
 “ *George Keith*, the weight of which we bore  
 “ here for some time, and therefore can the  
 “ more sensibly sympathize with you, and you  
 “ by your present exercise with us. But glory  
 “ to God, though the rage of him and his adhe-  
 “ rents be great, yet their time is short and they  
 “ are falling apace, and that power before which  
 “ they have begun to fall shall accomplish what  
 “ is yet behind concerning them, and so, dear  
 “ friends, we conclude letting you know that  
 “ through the Lord's great mercy we enjoy our  
 “ health generally here and in the blessed fel-  
 “ lowship of the gospel of peace, rest your  
 “ friends and brethren.

“ Signed in behalf and by appointment of  
 “ the meeting by

“ PHINEAS PEMBERTON.”

C H A P.

XIII.

1698.

Thomas Janney, from Bucks county, Pennsylvania, in the year 1698, visited friends in New England in the work of the ministry, as did also at different times in the same year John Simcock, James Dilworth, William Biles, John Willsford and Nicholas Waln, all from Pennsylvania; Richard Gove also this year went with Thomas Chalkley on a religious visit to friends in Maryland and Virginia.

Several settlers as we have seen had already arrived from Wales to Pennsylvania; Hugh Roberts, who was on a visit there from hence, stayed till this year, when being about to return, a number of the inhabitants of North Wales who had resolved to return with him, having settled their affairs for that purpose, they together in the spring sailed from Liverpool in a vessel belonging to Robert Haydock, Ralph Williams commander, and touching at Dublin, sailed from thence the first of the third month; shortly after they got to sea the bloody flux began among the passengers, and proved very mortal, forty-five of them and three sailors having died before their arrival at Philadelphia, which was not till the 7th of the 5th month following. When arrived they met with a kind reception, not only from their relations and acquaintance, that were in the country before, but from others who were mere strangers to them, in that they understood not their language, so that it then appeared to them, that christian love presided even amongst those of a different speech and profession, for they were not now many of them of those called Quakers; in the latter end of this year William Jones, Thomas Evans, Robert Evans, Owen Evans, Cadwallader Evans, Hugh Griffith

Griffith, John Hugh, Edward Foulke, John C H A P.  
 Humphrey, Robert Jones and others, having XIII.  
 purchased of Robert Turner ten thousand acres of  
 land, in the following year began to improve and 1698.  
 settle it, and called the township Gwynedd, which  
 is in English North Wales. There were for some  
 time after their settlement but a few of the  
 passengers in the ship before mentioned that had  
 made open profession with friends, but several  
 of them had inclinations after it, which proba-  
 bly was not unknown to Evan Evans, the then  
 officiating missionary to the episcopalians in Phi-  
 ladelphia, who made them several visits with of-  
 fers of service, but discovering no encourage-  
 ment in the way he seemed to aim at, left them.  
 After some time they were generally convinced,  
 and more thoroughly established in the princi-  
 ples they had espoused, and with their families  
 met often together to wait upon the Lord in  
 silence, at the houses of John Hugh and John  
 Humphrey, and for their encouragement in this  
 way many of their country-folk, and others of  
 their brethren in profession, some of which were  
 ministers, came often to visit them, particularly  
 Ellis Pugh, whom they mentioned as greatly in-  
 strumental in those early times to the convince-  
 ment and establishment of many, and adding  
 to the number of those who afterwards profes-  
 sed with friends; frequent were his visits and  
 labours in the ministry, though he then lived at  
 a considerable distance, but in time removing  
 within the verge of their meeting, he continued  
 a fervent labourer among them to the end of his  
 days, and many of them with good reason  
 thought they had cause to be humbly thankful for  
 such a blessing.

C H A P. Elizabeth Webb from Gloucestershire in Eng-  
 XIII. land, about this time travelled through all the  
 English colonies on the continent of America,  
 1698. where friends were settled, and was eminently  
 serviceable amongst them in the exercise of a  
 large public testimony.

Mary Rogers from England, was also here  
 now travelling on the same account, and Eliza-  
 beth Gamble from Barbadoes, both of whom vi-  
 sited the meetings in these provinces to good sa-  
 tisfaction.

1699. In the beginning of the year 1699, Roger  
 R. Gill and T. Story from England, arrived  
 T. Story visit these parts. in Virginia, and from thence went to North Ca-  
 rolina, thence travelled by land to Philadelphia,  
 taking friends meetings in their way. They made  
 a small stay in the city, and then set out for the  
 provinces to the Eastward, which having visited,  
 on their return they heard of the great sickness  
 in Philadelphia, what is since commonly called the  
 Epidemical sickness at Philadelphia. yellow fever, which had for a considerable time  
 before been very mortal in several of the West  
 India islands; toward the latter end of the  
 summer this year it raged there also with unusual  
 terror, and so great was the visitation, that a  
 person of note in Pennsylvania \*, and an eye-  
 witness, speaks of it in the following terms,  
 “ Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord,  
 “ great was the fear that fell upon all flesh;  
 “ I saw no lofty airy countenance, nor heard any  
 “ vain jesting to move men to laughter, nor  
 “ witty repartee to raise mirth, nor extravagant

\* Thomas Story, a lawyer, and afterwards some time  
 one of the provincial council and recorder of the city of  
 Philadelphia. Vid. Journal of his life, page 224.

“ feasting



“feasting to excite the lusts and desires of the  
 “flesh above measure, but every face gathered  
 “paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and  
 “countenances fallen and sunk, as such that wait-  
 “ed every moment to be summoned to the bar  
 “and numbered to the grave.”

“But the just appeared with open face, and  
 “walked upright in the streets, and rejoiced  
 “in secret, in that perfect love that casteth  
 “out all fear; and sang praises to him who  
 “liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever,  
 “being resigned unto his holy will in all things;  
 “saying, *Let it be as thou wilt, in time, and in*  
 “*eternity, now and for ever more*: nor love of  
 “the world, nor fear of death, could hinder  
 “their resignation, abridge their confidence,  
 “or cloud their enjoyments in the Lord.”

The said friends being arrived at Philadelphia from their journey to the Eastward, found things in this languishing situation, they remained there some time with their friend and brother in the ministry Aaron Atkinson, visiting and encouraging the sick and afflicted, the latter after some time was taken with the distemper, but recovered.

At the yearly meeting of friends held in the seventh month, Roger Gill, who from divers instances appears to have been very deeply affected with the present heavy calamity, in one of his public addresses to the Almighty, with great zeal and earnestness solemnly prayed, “that the Lord would be pleased to accept of his life as a sacrifice for his people, that a stop might be put to the contagion.” When he first heard of this mortality, he said he felt “a great weight and exercise to come upon him,”

CHAP. so that he had no ease in his spirit until he came  
 XIII. amongst them, and when he came, he not only  
 1699. visited the sick, but such was the part he took  
 in their affliction, that he declared in his public  
 preaching that “when he was one hundred miles  
 “off, his love in the Lord was such to them,  
 “that had he had wings he would have flown to  
 “them.” After the yearly meeting was over  
 he often expressed the state of his mind, and  
 that he had not much to do but visit friends of  
 Burlington, and having accomplished that jour-  
 ney, at his return to Philadelphia was taken sick  
 with the common distemper, which filled him  
 with great pain and affliction of body, and he  
 remembered in his sickness “the free-will of-  
 “fering of himself up unto the Lord, saying to  
 “those about him, it is not in my heart to re-  
 “pent of the offer I have made,” and continu-  
 ed notwithstanding his pains exhorting friends to  
 faithfulness, and at a certain time said, “the  
 “Lord hath sanctified my afflictions to me, and  
 “hath made my sickness as a bed of down;”  
 and when some of his friends spoke as though  
 they had hopes of his recovery, he said to them,  
 “truly I have neither thoughts or hopes about  
 “being raised in this life, but I know I shall  
 “rise sooner than many imagine, and receive a  
 “reward according to my works.” This sick-  
 ness continued seven days upon him, and a few  
 hours before his death he took his leave of his  
 friends about him, by saying *farewell, farewell,*  
*farewell*, and calmly passed from time to eternity  
 on the second of the eighth month.

Death of  
 R. Gill.

The death of this good man by the common  
 distemper, so soon following the public offer he  
 had made, and the sickness ceasing in a little  
 time

time afterwards, made it an occurrence much CHAP.  
 taken notice of; and was the more extraordinary, XIII.  
 that he does not appear to have been a man apt  
 to be carried away by undue transports, but on 1699.  
 the contrary was much favoured in his public  
 services.

“ At the ferry,” says Thomas Story, “ I had  
 “ the afflicting news of the death of my com-  
 “ panion Roger Gill at Philadelphia, at which  
 “ my soul was greatly bowed, and my heart  
 “ tendered, and the ground whereon I sat was  
 “ watered with my tears, in the conclusion  
 “ whereof I was fully satisfied he had obtained  
 “ a crown of everlasting peace with the Lord,  
 “ and that his memory should not rot, nor his  
 “ living testimony fall in those American parts,  
 “ wherein we had laboured together from Caro-  
 “ lina to New England, where many hearts had  
 “ been tendered by him and souls comforted,  
 “ and several convinced, and all through that  
 “ divine power by which he is now raised to  
 “ glory, to sing praises to him who sitteth on  
 “ the throne, and ruleth and reigneth, and is  
 “ alone worthy, for ever and ever, Amen.”

James Dickenson, whose first and second visits  
 have been mentioned already, this year sent  
 the following epistle to friends in these provin-  
 ces :

“ Rogerskail, 27th of 1st month, 1699.

“ Dear Friends, .

“ In the love of God, my soul dearly salutes  
 “ you all in the seed of life, in which we are  
 “ united

CHAP. " united the whole world over, and are bound  
 XIII. " up in that one eternal power and spirit by  
 1699. " which we have been gathered to be a people  
 " to appear in the world to make mention of  
 " his name, and that in truth and righteousness.  
 " All wait low in the depth of humility, daily  
 " to feel the operation and opening of his eter-  
 " nal power upon your spirits, that by it you  
 " may be all guided in true fear and wisdom in  
 " all your exercises and services for God in your  
 " several gifts, and places that God has com-  
 " mitted to your trust and charge, that you all  
 " be shewing forth the glory and power and  
 " wisdom of him that hath called you out of  
 " the dark world, and its ways, customs and  
 " fashions, into his marvellous light, to walk  
 " therein, and to be faithful witnesses for him,  
 " and that your lights may so shine before men,  
 " that they may see your good works, that may  
 " glorify your father which is in heaven. My  
 " spirit and life is often with you in my secret  
 " retirement unto the Lord in those remote  
 " parts of the world.

" Oh! my bowels yearn towards you, night  
 " and day, for your growth and prosperity in  
 " the truth, that you may be kept under the  
 " government of Christ where his peace will  
 " daily rise up in your souls, which will far  
 " transcend all earthly enjoyments, and redeem  
 " your affections out of the earth, and the  
 " snares and corruptions that are in it, and will  
 " draw the affections heavenwards, and to seek  
 " those things that are above, so will the Lord  
 " bless you every way, both inwardly and out-  
 " wardly, and your table will never become a  
 " trap and a snare to you.

" Treasure



“ Treasure the advice given of old, trust not  
 “ in uncertain riches, but in the living God,  
 “ and then he will abundantly bless those parts  
 “ of the world where it is your lot to dwell, he  
 “ will be as a wall of fire round about you,  
 “ and make your enemies to be at peace with  
 “ you ; keep low, there is your safety, and look  
 “ not out but to the Lord, whose eye is watch-  
 “ ing over you for good, and his hand is full of  
 “ blessings to be poured down upon you, if you  
 “ give him not occasion to withhold them from  
 “ you, by letting your minds wander from him;  
 “ therefore let an holy care and zeal be kept  
 “ in by all, to keep their minds close to the  
 “ Lord, so will he bring up a godly concern  
 “ upon your minds, for the honour of God, and  
 “ a holy strict discipline amongst you, that all  
 “ that profess the holy truth, walk as becomes  
 “ truth in their life and conversation, and that  
 “ those that do not, be dealt with, and if pos-  
 “ sible be reclaimed, and if not, to clear the  
 “ holy truth of them, and to wipe off the scan-  
 “ dal, that may be cast upon your holy pro-  
 “ fession by their disorderly walkings. I do not  
 “ write those things because you know them  
 “ not, but to stir up your minds to put them  
 “ in practice, and in order thereto, we are in  
 “ the practice of appointing two or more faith-  
 “ ful friends in every particular meeting to take  
 “ inspection into the conversation of friends,  
 “ how they walk as becomes truth, and these  
 “ friends of every meeting, which we call a pre-  
 “ parative meeting, because it fits those that are  
 “ appointed, to give a true account to the  
 “ monthly meeting, that often consists of se-  
 “ veral, and takes a great deal of work from  
 “ the

CHAP. " the monthly meeting, things being done with-  
 XIII. " out going thither. We find great benefit in  
 " a strict discipline, and there is a great need  
 1699. " of it. I desire you to keep in the unity of  
 " the spirit, which is the bond of peace, and  
 " stir up one another to love and good works,  
 " and that those whom God hath trusted with hea-  
 " venly gifts may all improve them to his glory,  
 " and stir up one another to visit remote parts  
 " that want help, as Virginia, Carolina, New-  
 " England, Barbadoes, Jamaica, Antigua, Ne-  
 " vis, and let all be done in the love of God,  
 " so will he bless you with spiritual blessings in  
 " his son Christ Jesus, in whom I dearly salute  
 " you all, letting you know I am well every way,  
 " and to God's eternal arm of power I commit  
 " you all, and remain your friend and brother  
 " in the holy truth,

" JAMES DICKENSON."

The second of the 8th month died Arthur Cooke of Philadelphia. He came over amongst some of the first settlers, since his arrival had borne many of the most considerable posts in the government, which he seems to have discharged with a good character.

W. Penn's  
 second voy-  
 age to Pen-  
 sylvania.

In the sixth month this year, William Penn with his wife and family took shipping a second time for his province of Pennsylvania; and on the ninth of the seventh month (September) they set sail, and were near three months out at sea. Providence, by the tediousness of their voyage, protracting the time of their arrival, until the danger of the contagious distemper then reigning in that country was over. Upon their coming thither,  
 they

they were received with the universal joy of the inhabitants.

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XIII.

1699.

Being now determined to settle in his province, he applied himself to the offices of government, always preferring the good of the country and its inhabitants to his own private interest; rather remitting, than rigorously exacting his lawful revenues; so that under the influence of his paternal administration the province was in an easy and flourishing condition: when some persons here in England, taking advantage of his absence, were endeavouring to undermine both his and other proprietary governments, under the specious pretence of advancing the prerogative of the crown; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house of lords. His friends, the proprietors and adventurers here, presently represented the hardship of their case to the parliament, soliciting time for his return to answer for himself; and accordingly giving him a speedy account how matters stood, they pressed his coming over forthwith; with which he seeing it necessary to comply, summoned an assembly to meet at Philadelphia, to whom, on the 15th of September, 1701, he made the following speech, viz.

“ Friends,

“ You cannot be more concerned than I  
 “ am at the frequency of your service in assembly, since I am very sensible of the trouble  
 “ and charge it contracts upon the country,  
 “ but the motives being considered, and that  
 “ you must have met of course in the next  
 “ month, I hope you will not think it a  
 “ hardship now.

“ The

CHAP.

XIII.

1701.

“ The reason that hastens your sessions, is  
 “ the necessity I am under, through the endea-  
 “ vours of the enemies of the prosperity of  
 “ this country, to go for England ; where,  
 “ taking advantage of my absence, some have  
 “ attempted, by false or unreasonable charges,  
 “ to undermine our government, and thereby  
 “ the true value of our labour and property.  
 “ Government having been our first encourage-  
 “ ment, I confess I cannot think of such a voy-  
 “ age without great reluctance of mind, having  
 “ promised myself the quietness of a wilderness,  
 “ and that I might stay so long at least with  
 “ you, as to render every body entirely easy  
 “ and safe. For my heart is among you as  
 “ well as my body, whatever some people may  
 “ please to think ; and no unkindness or dis-  
 “ appointment shall (with submission to God’s  
 “ providence) ever be able to alter my love to  
 “ the country, and resolution to return and  
 “ settle my family and posterity in it : but  
 “ having reason to believe I can at this time  
 “ best serve you and myself on that side of  
 “ the water, neither the rudeness of the season,  
 “ nor tender circumstances of my family, can  
 “ over-rule my inclinations to undertake it.

“ Think, therefore, (since all men are mortal)  
 “ of some suitable expedient and provision for  
 “ your safety, as well in your privileges as pro-  
 “ perty, and you will find me ready to comply  
 “ with whatsoever may render us happy by a  
 “ nearer union of our interests.

“ Review again your laws ; propose new ones  
 “ that may better your circumstances ; and  
 “ what you do, do quickly, remembering that the  
 “ parliament sits the end of the next month,  
 “ and



“and that the sooner I am there, the safer I hope we shall be here.

“I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care, the king’s letter to me for the assistance of New-York with 350l. sterling, as a frontier government, and therefore exposed to a much greater expence in proportion to other colonies; which I called the last assembly to take into their consideration, and they were pleased, for the reasons then given, to refer to this.

“I am also to tell you the good news of the governor of New-York, his happy issue of his conferences with the five nations of Indians, that he hath not only made peace with them, for the king’s subjects of that colony, but (as I had by some letters before desired him) for those of all other governments under the crown of England on the continent of America, as also the nations of Indians within those respective colonies: which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

“I have done, when I have told you, that unanimity and dispatch are the life of business, and *that* I desire and expect from you, for your own sakes, since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have sought the ruin of our young country.”

#### The Assembly’s Address.

“May it please the Proprietary and Governor,

“We have this day in our assembly read thy speech, delivered yesterday in council; and  
“having

CHAP. " having duly considered the same, cannot but  
 XIII. " be under a deep sense of sorrow for thy pur-  
 1701. " pose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same  
 " time taking notice of thy paternal regard to  
 " us and our posterity, the freeholders of this  
 " province, and territories annexed, in thy  
 " loving and kind expressions of being ready  
 " to comply with whatsoever expedient and  
 " provisions we shall offer for our safety, as well  
 " in privileges as property, and what else may  
 " render us happy in a nearer union of our  
 " interests; not doubting the performance of  
 " what thou hast been so lovingly pleased to  
 " promise, we do in much humility, and as a  
 " token of our gratitude, return unto thee  
 " the unfeigned thanks of this house.

" Subscribed by order of the house,

" JOSEPH CROWDON, speaker."

The next month he took shipping for England, and safely arrived at Portsmouth about the middle of December; and the same month came up to London: after his return, the bill, which through his friends solicitations, had been postponed the last sessions of parliament, was wholly dropped, and no farther progress made in that affair. It doth not appear that after this he returned any more to Pennsylvania.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

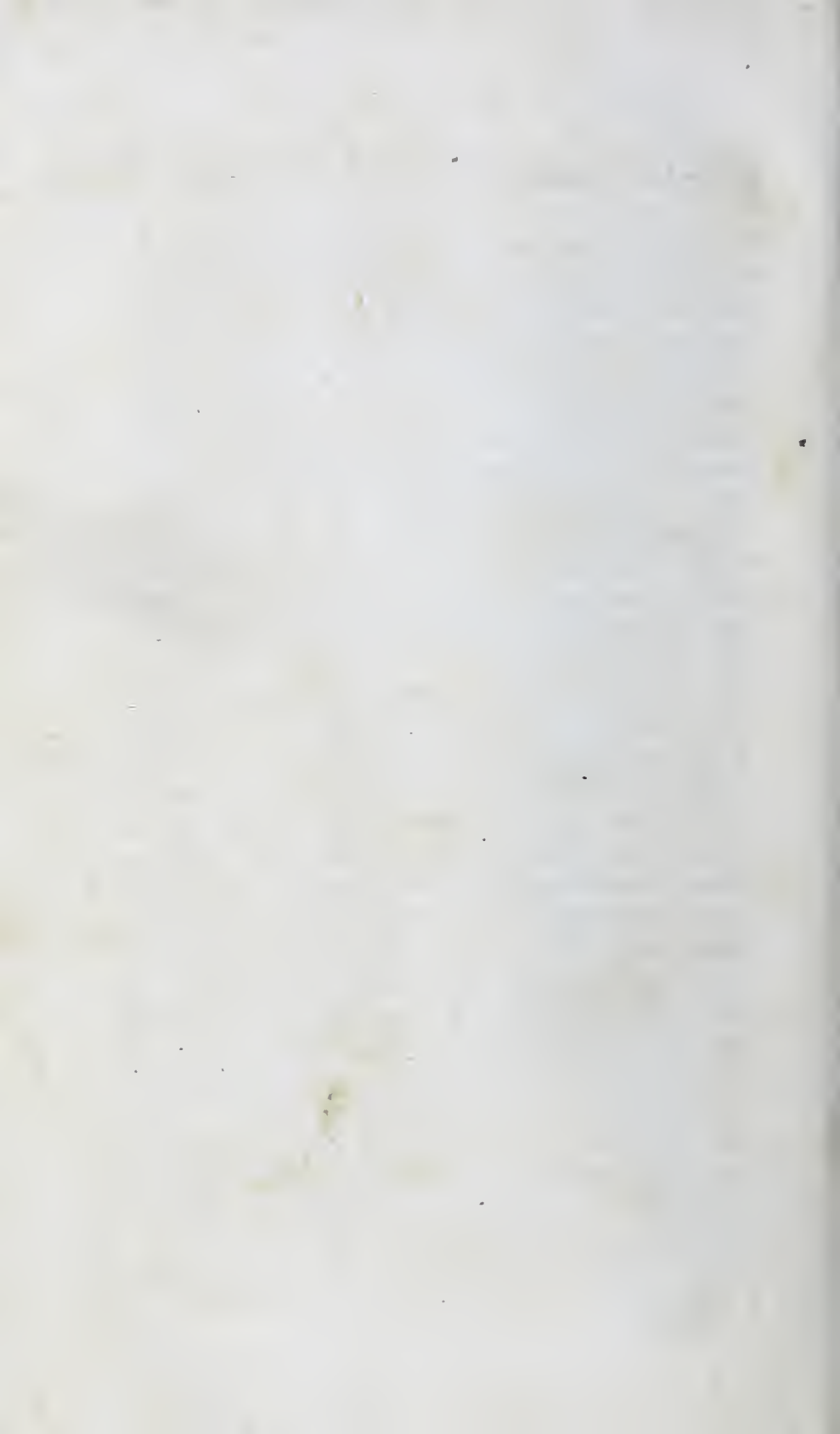
## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE third volume of this history being now finished according to the proposals, it is apprehended it may be most acceptable to the subscribers to be immediately furnished therewith, although not yet brought up to the present time. And notwithstanding at first it was expected the whole might be comprehended in three volumes, yet through an endeavour to introduce as full and distinct accounts of the lives and services of the most considerable members of the society, as the materials in the author's hands and supplies of new matter enabled him, to which his attention was particularly turned, (agreeable to the opinion and wishes of sundry friends,) it now appears a fourth volume will be necessary to complete his plan, which, from the materials in his hands, he is willing to hope will prove no unacceptable addition. If his endeavours to accommodate the desire and expectations of friends in a general way, may appear to some readers to have drawn him into too great a prolixity, he hopes their sympathetic feelings with an author who hath many different tastes and tempers to gratify, will plead in his favour to moderate censure, and form a candid judgment of his laborious undertaking. If the fourth volume fall short of the extent of the former, the price will be reduced in proportion: And if any friends are possessed of any authentic anecdotes, which may be conducive to the elucidation or completion of the succeeding part, they will be gratefully accepted by the author.

J. G.

4<sup>mo</sup>. 29th

1790.





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